



11-2021

Gendered Language in The Catalogues of Saint Mary's Academy, 1860-1871

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GENDERED LANGUAGE IN THE CATALOGUES OF SAINT MARY'S ACADEMY,
1860-1871

by

Kylie Hamm

A thesis submitted to the Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
History
Western Michigan University
December 2021

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GENDERED LANGUAGE IN THE CATALOGUES OF SAINT MARY'S ACADEMY,
1860-1871

Kylie Hamm, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 2021

This research builds upon studies that explore Catholic women's and girls' educational institutions in the nineteenth century. This case study focuses on one girls' academy, Saint Mary's Academy, precursor to Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, founded by the Congregation of the Holy Cross in 1844. The research provided here analyzes the gendered language utilized by school leaders in the academy's public catalogues during the decade of the Civil War, from 1860 through 1871. The language in these catalogues subtly changed over the course of the decade, reflecting changing white, middle-class gender norms surrounding women's work and education. Leaders of the school used the language of spheres and domesticity in developing ways over the course of the decade to both defend and expand their educational offerings for their pupils.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the history department of Western Michigan University, particularly Dr. Sally Hadden, my advisor Dr. James Cousins, and my other committee members, Dr. Ilana Nash and Dr. Perez-Villa, along with Dr. Michael Nassaney for their support and guidance during my time working on my degree and thesis. Thank you also to Dr. Allen Webb, your writing advice during our work together was invaluable in completing this thesis.

Secondly, I would like to thank the wonderfully patient people at my alma mater, Saint Mary's College, for helping me find archival materials and letting me borrow an absurd number of books for much longer than the rules allowed. Thank you to Eric Walerko, Lisa Karle, Catherine Pellegrino, and Suzanne Hinnefeld for supporting my research endeavors.

Next, I would like to thank my family, friends, and colleagues for listening and reading, especially my mother and father, Dawn Troyer, and Jodi Adkins.

Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude and love for my husband and children. Going back to school meant added stress, time away from them, and lots of growth. Thank you, Tim, Ella, and Corbin, for loving me.

Kylie Hamm

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This research began with the broad goal of exploring how educational institutions help shape the identity of the students who attend those institutions. This research centered on girls' education in the nineteenth century and took the form of a case study of one all-female, Catholic institution, Saint Mary's Academy—today called Saint Mary's College¹—in Notre Dame, Indiana. Because of the religious affiliation of this institution, this study additionally explored how American Catholic culture and history created unique educational and work opportunities for some girls and women in the nineteenth century. The original, primary research in this thesis focused on the use of gendered language and ideas in the catalogues of the academy during the Civil War decade, from 1860 through 1871. The tumult of the Civil War served as a catalyst for major changes in social relations in the United States; these changes partially manifested themselves in popular concerns and debates surrounding girls' and women's education. Female school leaders balanced educational goals for their students with gendered and religious considerations; at Saint Mary's Academy, school catalogues reflected this balancing act; leaders designed these catalogues for consumption by parents and guardians of current and potential

¹ Today Saint Mary's College often spells out the word "Saint" rather than using the abbreviation, "St.," so as not to be confused with St. Mary's-of-the-Woods, another Catholic, women's liberal arts college in Indiana founded in the nineteenth century. I will spell out "Saint" in this paper for the same reason, unless it is a direct reference to a title, but it should be noted that the college frequently utilized the abbreviation in the course catalogues of the 1860s.

students, presenting a carefully crafted public presentation of what the school offered female students. This paper examined the gendered language and ideologies present in the catalogues of Saint Mary's Academy, analyzing how this language echoed these social changes, both at the academy and in the larger United States, while considering how the school's Catholic identity forged distinct spaces for Catholic women and girls.

This introduction provided first a framework of the popular language and conceptions surrounding gender in the United States in the early nineteenth century, particularly the conception of separate spheres and the language of domesticity. This included some commentary on the use of this conception as a framework of analysis in this work. Secondly, this introduction provided some Catholic cultural considerations that affected how Catholic writers and speakers modified and utilized the language during the Civil War decade. Lastly, this introduction provided a brief overview of the contents and structure of this paper.

The Language and Ideology of Separation of Spheres: The Antebellum Period

At the turn of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth, the lives of Americans changed rapidly. As the Industrial Revolution began pushing production out of homes and into the wider economic world, men and women scrambled to make new meaning of changing social roles.² During this time of transition, a new system of middle-class economy and social relationships began to take hold. Middle-class males became increasingly dependent on paid work that took place outside of the home, while middle-class women remained in the home continuing to

² Alice Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked: A Concise History*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 1-20.

engage in non-waged household activities, thus promoting a new division of labor.³ In this new division of labor, white masculinity became increasingly tied to outside waged work and activities that centered men in public spaces, while white, middle-class femininity became defined by private spaces. In Alice Kessler-Harris' *Women have Always Worked: A Concise History*, she explained that women's home labors gradually stopped being defined as "work," and instead, these labors became reimagined as ingrained characteristics natural to femininity, conceptually separated from the newly defined masculine wage labor.⁴

To make sense of this new division, writers and speakers of the time popularly employed a new language of separation of spheres. In this gendered, ideological framework there existed two spheres, a home sphere inhabited and influenced by women, and a public sphere, inhabited and governed by men. As Kessler-Harris explained, "In the absence of an identity derived from wage work, a woman's identity was grounded in her home role."⁵ In the new framework of separation of spheres, language about domesticity intertwined decisively with language about femininity and womanhood, reflecting the growing, white, middle-class belief that a woman's source of value for society came through her ability to provide both a refuge and guiding light to her husband and children in the privacy of the home. Additionally, the language of womanhood advanced the idea that women were natural sources of religious piety, providing models of purity and obedience for their children and husbands.⁶ This popular framework defined femininity by a

³ E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 1-9.

⁴ Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked*, 1-20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶ Mary Louise Roberts, "True Womanhood Revisited," *Journal of Women's History* 14, no. 1 (2002): 150-5, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2002.0025>.

woman's ability to marry, have and rear children, run a household, and provide support and solace to her husband, who acted as the mediator and protector between the home and the wider, wilder outside world.

A variety of Americans spoke and wrote in this language that promoted the ideals of the new framework. As a historical lens of analysis, women's historians have debated the usefulness of the framework of separate spheres, along with language of domesticity and true womanhood, from the late 1960s forward.⁷ In her influential article, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," Linda K. Kerber argued that while historians may find the analysis of the language and ideology of spheres helpful as a framework for examining American women's lives during the nineteenth century,⁸ they should "[treat] the language of separate spheres itself as a rhetorical construction that responded to changing social and economic reality."⁹ This study's analysis applied this understanding of separation of spheres as a rhetorical construct in its analysis. The popularity of the language and ideas of these gendered devices should never be understood as naturally occurring or stemming from unbiased observers of society in the nineteenth century. As Mary Louise Roberts stated in her article "True Womanhood Revisited," "the domestic ideal was not natural but *naturalized*."¹⁰ Middle-class writers and thinkers cultivated the language and ideology of spheres using it in different ways to discuss, understand, defend, and criticize the actions of men and women—even for those people to whom this framework did not have cultural meaning or usefulness. Despite the position of

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 17-18, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1889653>.

⁹ Ibid., 21.

¹⁰ Roberts, "True Womanhood Revisited," 151.

privilege and power occupied by white, middle and upper class, Anglo Saxon Protestants in the United States in the nineteenth century, women and men navigated the separation of these imagined spheres in negotiable and dynamic ways; overall, the ideals of the framework were just that—ideals of a privileged segment in a varied society.

Subsequent generations of women’s historians have since reinforced the need to understand the language of separation of spheres, womanhood, and domesticity as one discourse among many and a gendered framework that was in no way universal. While both men and women popularly wielded this language—and through this language also promoted this version of feminine propriety—nineteenth century womanhood remained a vast and varied topic. Factors such as social class, race, religion, ethnicity, and region all shaped notions of femininity and propriety. “Woman” was neither a monolithic nor a static category.¹¹ For women of color and poor women in America at this time, the brand of femininity that separate spheres demanded was virtually impossible. Racial and economic considerations made this version of womanhood exclusive and interwoven in social power dynamics. The separate spheres paradigm ignored the work of poor women and enslaved black women.¹² Native American women who found their families and cultures constantly under attack by the colonialism of the United States, and frequently by the Catholic Church itself, as well as immigrant women who set out for the United States and its ever-expanding territories, possessed their own cultural understandings and conceptions of gender. Women who went with their families to border territories in the Midwest

¹¹ Margaret Nash, “Thoughts on the History of Women’s Education, Theories of Power, and This Volume: An Introduction,” in *Women’s Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives*, ed. Margaret Nash (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59084-8>.

¹² See discussion in Melissa J. Strong, “‘The Finest Kind of Lady’: Hegemonic Femininity in American Women’s Civil War Narratives,” *Women’s Studies* 46, no. 1 (2017): 1-21, <https://doi.org.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/10.1080/00497878.2017.1252560>.

and West lived in frequently isolating and difficult circumstances of being away from highly populated areas. These considerations all altered the boundaries of propriety and understandings of womanhood in vastly different circumstances. Americans never uniformly practiced nor used this gendered ideological framework, nor did it at any time apply to all women. White, Eastern, Protestant sensibilities and hegemony founded its core.

The boundaries of domesticity were also much wider and more permeable than earlier historians commenting on the paradigm of spheres first allowed.¹³ Both men and women participated in the construction of gender norms, using language to shape ideas surrounding gender. While some women actively criticized and rejected the ideologies and language surrounding separate spheres, other women worked within the available cultural narratives, challenging, and stretching the ideas of the framework, while utilizing the rhetoric and logic of spheres in doing so.¹⁴ Women who applied this language and ideology frequently did so in ways that promoted their own agency.¹⁵

The Language and Ideology of Spheres: Catholic Considerations

This study analyzed the use of gendered rhetoric and ideologies present in primary source materials using the additional lens of nineteenth century American Catholic cultures and histories. In his article “Reflections on Historical Catholic Women,” James Kenneally discussed

¹³ Mary Kelley, “Beyond the Boundaries,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 21, no 1 (Spring 2001): 73-78, <https://www-jstor-org.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/stable/3125096>.

¹⁴ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 29. Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked*, 114-116. Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: Norton, 1976), 137.

¹⁵ Nash, “Thoughts on the History of Women’s Education,” 1-28.

the complicated relationship of Catholics to the rhetoric of spheres; he explained that this language and its accompanying ideologies were “enthusiastically endorsed by the Catholic Church...To many Catholics there was an order designed by God...there were distinct spheres of activity for each sex. Woman’s [sic] centered on her role as perpetuator of the race and nucleus of the family.”¹⁶ Kenneally argued that while some Catholic male leaders promoted this rhetoric and culture to rally against any change in status of women, Catholic female leaders frequently utilized this rhetoric for their own purposes. The ideology of spheres considered women to be guiders and shapers of men’s morality. Some Catholic women pushed for economic, political, and ethnic considerations in language couched in the gendered rhetoric of the period, using their moral superiority as a justification for expanded work and educational opportunities.¹⁷ Catholic female leaders lived with complicated gender dynamics including a life of obedience to a faith with a male hierarchy while trying to provide purpose, support, and growth for other Catholic women. However, the structure of religious life in the Catholic Church coupled with nineteenth century gender norms gave some distinct freedoms to Catholic religious women unavailable to Protestant or lay Catholic women.

While the Catholic Church wholeheartedly supported the tenets of separation of spheres and placed a strong emphasis on Catholic motherhood, Catholic women had *always* had a respectable alternative to marriage and family life: the sisterhood. Although white, middle- and upper-class American Catholic thinkers and writers often embraced the language of spheres for their own purposes, this language had to be expanded and adjusted to account for the work of

¹⁶ James Kenneally, “Reflections on Historical Catholic Women,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 5, no. 3/4, Women in the Catholic Community (Summer-Fall 1986): 412, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25153774>.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 412-416.

nuns. In Catholic nuns, the Church possessed a lived reality of large groups of single, childless, frequently self-sufficient and working religious women; these women carved out spaces in the United States for Catholic women and girls that could both threaten and support gendered ideologies.

Catholic nuns occupied a space that existed outside of the allotted “private sphere” of lay women. These women passed up marriage and family life to devote themselves to their faith, but it is important to note that even this life took a variety of forms depending on the order, ethnicity, background, and education of the woman. In Carol Coburn and Martha Smith’s *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920*, the authors point out that “no one congregation can be seen as ‘typical’ of the more than 300 American sisterhoods, which included large and small, rural and urban, localized and extended, ethnically diverse and homogeneous groups.”¹⁸ Nuns’ work, lives, autonomy, and power varied widely; anywhere from serving as lifelong domestic workers to well-known writers and theologians and respected administrators.¹⁹ Despite huge variations in Catholic nuns’ experiences, a commonality of Catholic culture included the fact that religious life provided an acceptable, even noble, way for Catholic women to avoid marriage and childrearing as their sole path to womanhood.

In addition, the Church granted some nuns access to spaces, positions, and power that would have been unthinkable for most upper- and middle-class, white, Protestant women during the nineteenth century. Not only did the Church send Catholic sisters to work in the wilderness, on the battlefield, and to administer to the poor, imprisoned, and social outcasts, but it also

¹⁸ Carol Coburn and Martha Smith, *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 4.

¹⁹ This is true of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, the founders of Saint Mary’s Academy. This will be discussed in Chapter 3.

encouraged and provided for some of these women to become highly educated and to serve in administrative and leadership positions unavailable to lay women. In Mary Lou Anderson's dissertation "Catholic Women's Colleges and Feminism: A Case Study of Four Catholic Women's Colleges," she explained,

It is noteworthy that nuns, in a church which had proclaimed for twenty centuries that woman's place was in the home, were women who were not involved with marriage and family. They lived for the most part in an all-female world, with a strong sense of sisterhood...some were scholars, some were administrators, some were responsible for the financial survival of their communities.²⁰

The work of the sisters outside the confines of the home allowed them to build new opportunities for Catholic lay women and girls. So, while the Catholic Church embraced a gendered hierarchy, both in its structure and in its teaching, sisters and Catholic lay women navigated these boundaries in several ways including ignoring them, pushing back against them, and utilizing them for their own agendas.²¹

Their wide network of Catholic schools made apparent the work, influence, and power of female Catholic leaders. Nuns participated in both gatekeeping and advocating for Catholic women. The opportunities presented by this work, as well as the exclusions and boundaries imposed by their choices guided this study. Nuns held power over other women's education (and at boarding schools many other aspects of their lives) in a male-dominated religion and society. The analysis of the catalogues heavily considered the impact of the sisters as educational leaders in defining their students' gender and religious identities, especially to the public.²²

²⁰ Mary Lou Anderson, "Catholic Women's Colleges and Feminism: A Case Study of Four Catholic Women's Colleges," (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, 1992), 8.

²¹ Kenneally, "Reflections."

²² Please see discussions in Historiography section on Nash on women's agency in education and Anderson on Catholic Education and Feminism.

The Saint Mary's Academy Catalogues in This Case Study

The yearly catalogues of Saint Mary's Academy combined advertising and information for students' and potential students' families. Though the size and structure of the catalogues changed over the course of the decade, from 1860 through 1871 each catalogue contained information about pricing, course offerings, rules and regulations, and reassurances to parents and guardians about the type of education and training their daughters would receive if accepted into the academy. The writing in the catalogues addressed public fears about the purpose and content of girls' education by utilizing the language of spheres and domesticity with subtle shifts in position throughout the decade.

The catalogues examined in this thesis begin the year before the outbreak of the Civil War, when public writing popularly utilized the framework of spheres. As the war dragged on, the muddying of middle-class gender roles created anxiety surrounding girls' academies, especially the fear that girls' education would cultivate women who were incapable or unwilling to perform their expected domestic roles. The Civil War and Reconstruction years, into the end of the decade, led to expanded roles for women despite the inevitable backlash that changing norms caused. Girls' academies in the mid-nineteenth century both reinforced and expanded gendered ideas, reflecting the culturally available frameworks of educators and educational leaders.

The catalogues appealed to the sensibilities of white, Catholic, and middle-class, nineteenth-century families looking to educate their daughters in a culturally appropriate way. The course catalogues reflected a balancing act prevalent in many girls' academies at the time; educators sought to both expand and support opportunities for their pupils, but also to provide

reassurances to parents and guardians through the language of the separation of spheres that an education at Saint Mary's would not undermine the roles of Catholic women.

School administrators, particularly the school's leader during the decade, Mother Angela Gillespie, employed gendered language to both reinforce gendered ideas, creating a familiar, comfortable, and appropriate rhetoric that would have appealed to the parents of upper- and middle-class Catholic girls, and also to stretch the role of Catholic women's education by utilizing gendered language to expand the boundaries of changing ideas about femininity and propriety. Following this introduction, this paper included an historiographical chapter with samples of the literature available exploring educational history, women's educational history, and Catholic women's history in the United States, focusing on both overviews, as well as works relevant to the nineteenth century. The third chapter included an overview of girls' education in the United States in the nineteenth century as well as a brief history of Saint Mary's Academy: including the arrival in the United States of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, the order responsible for founding Saint Mary's Academy, a brief history of the founding of Saint Mary's Academy, and a brief history of its leader during the Civil War decade, Mother Angela Gillespie.²³ The fourth chapter explored the earlier catalogues in the decade, and provided analyses of the catalogues' content related to curriculum and culture at the school. The fifth chapter included an overview of some of the ways the Civil War and Reconstruction expanded women's public work, and the six chapter contained analyses of the catalogues' content again related to curriculum and culture at the school. Both the fourth and sixth chapters focused on the language used to describe educational offerings, both liberal and ornamental, and to comment on

²³ Before taking her vows, Mother Angela was known as Eliza Gillespie. For a time, her title was "Sister" until she became the Mother Superior of the sisters of the Holy Cross. The title of "Mother" reflected her formal leadership position within the organization.

the expected decorum of the pupils.²⁴ These chapters are followed by a conclusion and some additional reference materials on the catalogues.

²⁴ Please see the appendix for notes on the catalogues.

Chapter 2

Historiography

Historically, researchers neglected Catholic women's education in favor of Protestant institutions or Catholic men's colleges. Women's historians tended to ignore Catholic women as their own subject, perhaps because of the patriarchal structure of the Catholic Church, because of the minority status of Catholics in early America, because of a lack of recognition of the differences between Catholic culture and thought from Protestant, or because of a lack of understanding of the diversity within the Catholic religion. Catholic historians, on the other hand, have often subverted the history of nuns and women in favor of the priests and men active in Church history. Mainstream Catholic historians of the past also did not frequently use gender as an analytical lens in their works. In other early Catholic writings about women, conservative viewpoints led to biased conclusions surrounding the activities and goals of Catholic women in education. Overall, the relative autonomy of some types of nuns and their historical contributions as institution builders (e.g., schools, hospitals, orphanages, etc.) needs further study.

Nuns lived with an entirely different set of norms than secular women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the United States, giving some of these women access to advanced education as well as administrative and leadership positions not readily available to most women at the time. Using these positions, Catholic sisters created new educational opportunities for other Catholic (and sometimes Protestant) women. Though not completely in

alignment with early feminist goals, and sometimes holding quite conservative views, these women built and maintained educational institutions for women, by women, in a society and religion with patriarchies firmly in place. The following historiography discussed some of the existing research surrounding these ideas.

This historiographical section explored three subfields of educational history: the history of the education of girls and women in the United States, American Catholic educational history, and the intersection of research on the two, with a final section that looked at existing works on Saint Mary's Academy. Books, articles, and dissertations in this section present a sampling of the research available addressing the long-neglected subfield of Catholic, female education in the United States, primarily in the nineteenth century. Scholars of both women's education and Catholic education frequently overlook this subset of scholars, teachers, and administrators. Women's educational historians have researched Protestant women's educational institutions and experiences, largely ignoring Catholic women's institutions until recently. Catholic educational historians of the mid-twentieth century began to include Catholic women's institutions in their studies of Catholic educational history, but frequently ignored the female experience, autonomy, and character of these schools in favor of all-male higher institutions or co-educational parish schools. Scholars only recently started considering questions surrounding all-female schools, academies, and colleges—institutions often founded, administered, and attended by women. This case study sought to contribute to this subfield by studying one Catholic women's academy in the nineteenth century and how Catholic women helped shape other women's education at this institution.

Historical Educational Overviews: General Education, Catholic Education, and Women's Education

Two early overviews of the history of education, groundbreaking in that they represented calls for an expanded scope for educational historians' work, included Bernard Bailyn's *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* and Lawrence Cremin's *American Education: The National Experience 1783-1876*.¹ Both works encouraged researchers to expand educational histories beyond institutional boundaries. In Bernard Bailyn's 1960 book, he contended that most educational historians failed to historically contextualize systems to understand the past, instead seeking to understand current systems and educational practices through their work. In this influential book, he pleaded for a more thorough and rigorous examination of American education, writing a truly comprehensive bibliographical account of the literature available at the time that pushed his readers to reimagine education as a broader cultural process that involved multiple institutions beyond the schoolhouse.

In what could have been a direct response to Bailyn, Lawrence Cremin's *American Education: The National Experience 1783-1876*, written in 1980, traced the cultural and intellectual shaping of American education as a broader experience occurring both within and outside of formal educational institutions. Cremin included the family and the church as agents of education and likewise broadened the parameters of his study from more traditional learning materials like textbooks to include popular writings. In his characterization of the church and family as educational contributors, Cremin contended that American Protestantism acted both as

¹ Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: the National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).

an agent of education as well as Americanization, placing the scope and goals of education beyond the four walls of the schoolhouse.

While Bailyn and Cremin both mentioned women's education and Catholicism briefly, neither spent much time in their overviews on either topic. Bailyn addressed women's roles in informal and formal education briefly, but his main call to arms did not include the history of women in education. Cremin largely omitted analysis dedicated specifically to women's and girls' education. He did include the home as an educational component and the Republican-era elevated status of mothers within this structure, but he did not consider gender as an analytical tool in his work. Bailyn discussed Catholicism very little in his piece; his focus on early American history precluded most Catholics, as Catholicism remained a relatively small religious minority until the nineteenth century. He discussed denominationalism at length but wrote scantily on Catholic education in general.² Cremin limited his inclusion of American Catholicism mostly to how prominent Protestant thinkers viewed Catholicism, rather than how the Catholic and Protestant approaches to education may have differed or how Catholics may have viewed themselves.

While neither thinker addressed women nor Catholics in any sustained way in their works, these educational overviews called for a broader definition of educational history, helping to open the field for additional perspectives. These works encouraged expanded cultural analysis in educational institutions. This case study analyzed Catholic culture, as well as nineteenth century white, middle-class gender ideologies, as shapers of both the education and work of this particular subset of girls at Saint Mary's Academy.

² Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society*, 67.

While researchers like Bailyn and Cremin wrote about the United States at large in their educational histories, American Catholic historians concurrently wrote their own educational histories. Edward J. Power contributed his *A History of Catholic Higher Education in the United States*³ in 1958; his historiography section only mentioned three other prior works, all dissertations, dedicated to the topic. In writing this book, Power traced the origins and developments of Catholic higher education in the United States. While Power included Catholic women's colleges in this study, he did not devote many words to the topic and explicitly stated a few reasons why. The most telling assertion written by Power stated: "There is no special historical value in making a comparison of Catholic colleges for men and women."⁴ He further explained: "this book centers its attention on colleges for men. This is justifiable because in its essentials Catholic higher education for women was patterned after colleges for men, and colleges for women came into existence about one hundred years after colleges for men."⁵ In Power's estimation, women's experiences at these colleges differed only slightly from men's, and he contended that he covered these differences in the single chapter he devoted to women's colleges. Power additionally lamented that so little had been written on Catholic women's educational history at that point that it would have been a herculean task to include a more sustained study, displaying a lack of regard for gender as a factor in educational experience. This case study devoted much analysis to gender as a major factor in educational and work experience and opportunity. Comparisons of the educational attitudes and offerings of Saint Mary's

³ Edward J. Power, *A History of Catholic Higher Education in the United States* (Milwaukee: Bruce Pub, 1958).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii.

Academy and its brother school, the University of Notre Dame, were provided in this study as well.

By the 1980s, as gender did become a more widely considered tool for historical analysis, some researchers began to turn to the topic of women's education. Barbara Miller Solomon wrote her influential work on women's education, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, in 1980.⁶ In Solomon's overview of the history of women's education in the United States, she traced themes of agency and power throughout the history of women's higher education. Her book's content began in colonial America and followed the development of women's education through the 1980s. Solomon concluded in her work that women's access to higher education, their goals in obtaining a higher education, and the outcomes of earning a higher education were never uniform. In this book, Solomon began to try to address additional factors of access, but as an early overview her writing falls short in its efforts at implementing some of these analytical frameworks (race, religion, and region, for examples). Solomon's institutional approach mostly dealt with questions of access, which, by definition, removes both the agency of women denied space in educational institutions available and the culpability of women participating in these exclusions. Some current women's scholars critiqued Solomon's assumption that womanhood was a universally static category.⁷

Solomon's work did not address the experience of Catholic women in the nineteenth century in an in-depth way. She frequently lumped the Catholic experience in with Protestant

⁶ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

⁷ See discussions on Solomon's work in Margaret A. Nash, ed., *Women's Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59084-8>.

viewpoints. In one section on nineteenth century women, Solomon contended that “irrespective of theological differences, each group stressed activism by which to fulfill the social missions demanded of women and men within their separate spheres.”⁸ This paper challenges her characterization of separation of spheres as a singular ideology with shared viewpoints of Catholics and Protestants. Claiming that religious minorities viewed the dominant Protestant ideological construct in the same way as Protestants was not a forgone conclusion. This thesis studied Catholic thinkers’ use of this language with special consideration of Catholic culture in the nineteenth century and focused on the agency of nuns and other Catholic women in providing unique educational openings to some women and girls. Solomon did not consider these factors in her study, as she mentions Catholic institutions mostly as corollaries to Protestant institutions.

The authors of the educational overviews in this section painted American educational history with broad strokes. While these historians seemingly missed the subsection of Catholic women emphasized in this study, they contributed to the field by highlighting the need for more specialized studies to fill in research gaps not yet addressed. The next section looked at works aimed at filling some of those gaps and included a selection of specialized educational histories.

Selection of Specialized Studies on General, Women’s, and Catholic Educational History

The educational histories in this section included a biography, Kathryn Kish Sklar’s *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity*, regional studies of education including Kenneth Wheeler’s book, *Cultivating Regionalism: Higher Education and the Making of the American Midwest*, two articles, Timothy Walch’s “Catholic Education in Chicago: The

⁸ Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 16.

Formative Years 1840-1890,” and Erica Joy Rumbley’s “Ornamental Music and Southern Belles at the Nashville Female Academy, 1816-1861,” and finally Margaret Nash’s collection of essays, *Women’s Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives*.

In Kathryn Kish Sklar’s influential biography of Catharine Beecher, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity*,⁹ Sklar traced the life, intellectual and spiritual history, and pioneering efforts of Catharine Beecher in advocating for and manufacturing schools and spaces dedicated to educating girls and women. Beecher’s understanding and development of her own conception of separation of spheres allowed her as a middle-class, Protestant, white woman to utilize popular language and ideologies of gender to push for her own limited economic agency. Sklar’s work followed Beecher’s development and influence as an intellectual and theorist. Despite Beecher’s never having married or had children, her ideas shaped the way many middle-class Americans thought about motherhood, women’s education, and the home.

As a biography, this book was particular to Beecher and her life’s work in education but contributed to a broader understanding of how women participated in the gendered ideology of separation of spheres. Beecher’s position as a middle-class, white, Protestant woman from the East greatly shaped how she went about her work; she reimagined and stretched roles for women, then defended these roles by utilizing the same language and ideology of spheres that already appealed to people with socioeconomic statuses similar to her own.¹⁰ This biography highlights Beecher’s “within the system” approach to women’s education. While other thinkers of her time, like the Grimke sisters, tried to promote the equality of men and women, Beecher

⁹ Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: Norton, 1976).

¹⁰ Sklar addressed Catholic education in a small way during her discussion of Catharine’s famous father, Lyman Beecher, who saw the influx of Catholic immigrants as a threat to educational development in the West. While this may be telling in examining the development of parochial schools in the United States or how anti-Catholic rhetoric affected Catholic students, it was not a focus in this paper.

maintained that women held a special status in society to push for education. Sklar's exploration underscored how Beecher worked within a patriarchal system to further women's education, providing a model for this paper in exploring how Catholic women, and particularly nuns, worked to promote the education of women within the patriarchal structure of the Catholic Church. Nuns contemporaneously promoted and carried out goals and work similar to Beecher's in furthering the education of girls in the United States.

In the first regional study in this section, *Cultivating Regionalism: Higher Education and the Making of the American Midwest*,¹¹ Kenneth Wheeler tried to define the establishment of a cultural Midwest in the United States during the nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. He reasoned that the proliferation of Midwestern colleges helped to define and shape this Midwestern culture. Wheeler outlined several indicators that he saw as defining characteristics of the college culture of the Midwest including: a push for a more practical education, coeducation and a broader egalitarianism, the importance and range of denominational religions, an encouragement of debate, and a concentration on science. Wheeler maintained that these key characteristics helped to define a Midwestern character that made education in the region different from its Eastern and Southern counterparts.

While Wheeler's work delineated how regional culture shaped and was shaped by education, he failed to acknowledge the many Catholic educational institutions that existed in this period in the Midwest.¹² Catholic institutions of higher learning were mostly single gender until the mid-twentieth century, and Catholic culture at the time did not promote a coeducational

¹¹ Kenneth H. Wheeler, *Cultivating Regionalism: Higher Education and the Making of the American Midwest* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011).

¹² *Ibid.*, 45-46.

atmosphere in most settings beyond some parish schools.¹³ The mere existence of coeducational institutions in the Midwest did not indicate if these institutions were any more or less equitable than the single sex atmospheres of most Catholic schools at the time, though Wheeler seemed to be operating under this assumption. Wheeler neither fully explored nor defended the implied claim of greater gender equity stemming purely from the fact of coeducation in this book. The case study presented here spent time exploring the unique relationship of Saint Mary's Academy and Notre Dame, as well as the role of Saint Mary's Academy as a single-sex institution in creating opportunities for the leadership, scholarship, and work of women.

Timothy Walch wrote an additional regional study devoted to Catholic schools in his 1978 article, "Catholic Education in Chicago: The Formative Years 1840-1890."¹⁴ This piece, focusing on a crucial solidifying period of parochial schools as an educational force in Chicago, emphasized the plurality of Catholic education in the city around the mid-nineteenth century. The influx of Irish and German immigrants, followed by Catholic groups from southern and eastern Europe, led to a proliferation of parish schools built in the 1860s. In this article, Walch highlighted the importance of Catholic schools for immigrants as well as American-born Catholics in fashioning a culture and education for their children that promoted both American *and* Catholic values. In this work Walch particularly researched the Jesuits on the west side of the city. These schools vibrantly illustrated the diversity of the Catholic Church in America. Walch raised this important point in his piece as historians often treated Catholicism as a monolith in educational overviews. Walch explained:

¹³ See Power's discussion: Power, *A History of Catholic Higher Education*, 141.

¹⁴ Timothy Walch, "Catholic Education in Chicago: The Formative Years 1840-1890," *Chicago History* 7, no. 2 (1978): 87-97, ProQuest.

Indeed, the differences among the parish schools of different ethnic groups were as great as those between Catholic and public schools. Different orders of nuns with distinctive dress, different languages, and, most of all, distinctive cultures, made for classrooms which were at the same time measures of ethnicity, religion, and conservative social values.¹⁵

While Walch mentioned the diversity of the sisters in Chicago schools and carefully noted that the schools could not have flourished without the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary's teaching,¹⁶ he did not provide any additional research about the women who helped the schools to grow. Walch instead focused on the priests and legislation that both helped and hindered these educational communities. A companionate study on the sisters would give a fuller picture of how these schools grew and flourished. In the research in this paper, the Sisters of the Holy Cross were the institution builders at Saint Mary's, but the nuns of this order also founded educational institutions around the country during the same period. This study looked just at their work at Saint Mary's Academy, but adds to the canon of sisters as institution builders in the nineteenth century.

In a last regional study, "Ornamental Music and Southern Belles at the Nashville Female Academy, 1816-1861,"¹⁷ Erica Joy Rumbley researched the Nashville Female Academy, one of the top schools in the city in the antebellum period. Rumbley's main thesis connected this academy's ornamental curriculum to gendered and socioeconomic expectations of Southern culture. This article took a regional approach to the culture of the mid-nineteenth century American West and South, using leadership, popular publications, physical space, faculty, and curriculum to analyze the institution's educational goals for its elite pupils in their music

¹⁵ Ibid., 94.

¹⁶ Ibid., 91.

¹⁷ Erica Joy Rumbley, "Ornamental Music and Southern Belles at the Nashville Female Academy, 1816-1861," *American Music* 33, no. 2 (2015): 219-250, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/americanmusic.33.2.0219>.

program. Rumbley argued that Southern women could use their ornamental education gained from the school as cultural currency. Rumbley's article encouraged in this research a more in-depth exploration of the dimensions of ornamental education. The differences in religious culture made the study of music at Saint Mary's Academy have economic and religious dimensions not present in Southern, Protestant culture.¹⁸

Margaret Nash's 2018 book of essays, *Women's Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives*,¹⁹ addressed gaps in the history of women's education. The collection included an array of previously ignored perspectives in female higher education in the United States. In Nash's introduction to the collection, she advocated for historians to focus on deconstructing power dynamics in educational institutions. This thesis tried to answer Nash's challenge in a small way by discussing religious women's power in academies like Saint Mary's, where they wielded much control over girls' education (and access to education) in a male-dominated religion and society.

Nash also called for a broader definition of "woman" and a recognition that gender is relational, social, cultural, and dynamic. The essays in her collection covered broad topics using Nash's call for a new, more inclusive approach. Of particular interest to this paper were Kabria Baumgartner's "'Cruel and Wicked Prejudice': Racial Exclusion and the Female Seminary Movement in the Antebellum North," Lucia McMahon's "'She Pursued Her Life-Work': The Life Lessons of American Women Educators, 1800–1860" and lastly, though discussed in a later

¹⁸ Please see Chapter 5.

¹⁹ Margaret A. Nash, ed., *Women's Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018). <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59084-8>.

section, Kim Tolley's work, "The Hallmarks of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in the West: Women Religious and Education in the United States."

In Kabria Baumgartner's "'Cruel and Wicked Prejudice': Racial Exclusion and the Female Seminary Movement in the Antebellum North,"²⁰ she argued that the female seminary movement helped define and solidify race and class boundaries in the antebellum North and Northeast. The cost of female seminaries mostly excluded girls who were not part of the middle and upper classes. Racial prejudices also frequently excluded girls who were not white. By excluding students of color from these academies, leaders reinforced class notions of whiteness. It also is a reminder that in studying many of the female academies and seminaries of the antebellum period, historians are implicitly researching only a small segment of American women of the time.

Baumgartner's work raised a question of if these same patterns appeared in Catholic schools of the same period. The Catholic Church built ethnic parish schools in many urban settings particularly for poor, white, Catholic immigrant children. While anti-Catholic sentiment and the need to swell the ranks of Catholic Americans may have kept classist considerations more at bay in these institutions (poor Catholics could not be disregarded because of the need for numbers), more elite Catholic academies like Saint Mary's mirrored these same racial and socioeconomic Protestant female exclusions. While the school advertised for scholarships in later catalogues, the Sisters of the Holy Cross ran a manual labor school and orphanage until 1855

²⁰ Kabria Baumgartner, "'Cruel and Wicked Prejudice': Racial Exclusion and the Female Seminary Movement in the Antebellum North," in Margaret A. Nash, ed., *Women's Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 45-47, <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59084-8>.

when they transferred these facilities to the South Bend campus.²¹ The Congregation of the Holy Cross maintained a separate mission school for Catholic Potawatomi children for a number of years as well. During the late seventeenth century French Jesuits inhabited the area that would eventually become Notre Dame; during their time in the region, they converted some of the Potawatomi people in the area. While some authors implied that a few Potawatomi children may have attended the early academy at Bertrand, primary sources available could not confirm this.²² Also of note, during her time in France, Mother Angela's education included pedagogical training to teach students who were deaf and unable to speak; the sisters dedicated a special school at the academy to these students with disabilities.²³ The makeup of the student body at Saint Mary's Academy during the Civil War decade forced the parameters of this study to mostly

²¹ It is unclear from currently available sources if after the dissolution of the orphanage and manual labor school on campus, orphaned students or students of lesser means continued to be accepted into the academy. See the following sources:

Anna Shannon McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness: Life and Letters of Mother Angela Gillespie, C.S.C., 1824-1887, American Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Cross*, Centenary Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 6, (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1944), 120.

Helen Creek, *A Panorama: 1844-1977, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1977), 27.

Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years: From the Annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1855-1905* (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1905), 48.

M. Georgia Costin, *Priceless Spirit: A History of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1841-1893* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 83-85.

Monica Wagner, *Benchmarks: Saint Mary's College, How It Grew* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1990), 16.

²² Costin, *Priceless Spirit*, 22-23.

²³ *Ibid.*, 87. McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 156. Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years*, 45, 140. See also: "Fifth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana," in *Catalogues of St. Mary's Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary's College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary's College Archive. Notre Dame, IN, 4, 6.

include white, middle-class students; additional studies are needed to consider further how race and social class shaped school exclusions.

In “‘She Pursued Her Life-Work’: The Life Lessons of American Women Educators, 1800-1860”²⁴ Lucia McMahon added other female educators to the early pantheon of female trailblazers such as Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyon, and Emma Willard. In this essay, McMahon wrote about women with similar characteristics who in the first part of the nineteenth century advocated for girls’ education, describing them as:

white women, born between 1780 and 1820, and raised in the Northeast region of the United States. Their socio-economic status might best be described as “middling” ... As young women, they benefited from opportunities to attend newly established female academies and seminaries.²⁵

Tellingly though, of the women studied, McMahon did not include their Protestant cultural heritage in their similarities. McMahon, like many other educational historians, did not include any Catholic nuns in her study, even though this period saw a proliferation of parochial schools, many started, run, and taught by the sisters. The Sisters of the Holy Cross in the period between its American foundation and the turn of the twentieth century either founded, ran, or staffed around forty-five American schools.²⁶ Nuns, priests and parishes across the country began founding both Catholic women’s academies and sometimes coeducational parish schools during this period but are largely absent in the discussion of female education in the nineteenth century. The research presented here included one of these leaders, Mother Angela Gillespie.

²⁴ Lucia McMahon, “‘She Pursued Her Life-Work’: The Life Lessons of American Women Educators, 1800–1860,” in Margaret A. Nash, ed., *Women’s Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 23-43, <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59084-8>.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, np.

²⁶ Schools included in this count are listed in Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years*, 152-159.

This section's selection of readings offered more concentrated studies of individuals, regions, institutions, and ideologies. While most of these authors did not write directly about Catholic women's education, they raised questions about this subset of history and offered starting points for research. The next section looked at a selection of women's history about Catholic women and, both directly and indirectly, Catholic women's education.

Selection of Studies of Catholic Women's History and Education

The works in this section wrote about Catholic women's varied experiences. Some of the authors dedicated their research to education directly, while others included education as part of a broader narrative of Catholic women's contributions in American history. Scholars of Catholic women's history are currently working to address areas overlooked by women's historians and Catholic educational historians discussed in previous sections. Women's studies scholars have often failed to recognize the diversity of beliefs, practices, and experiences within the Catholic Church, viewing it as either unvaried in practices and beliefs or as a side note to Protestant history; Catholic educational historians often failed to recognize gender as an analytical lens or failed to uncover women's work subverted under the experiences and contributions of Catholic men. The works below used ethnicity, order, region, and other factors to more fully understand the experience of Catholic women in the nineteenth century. These included Hasia Diner's *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century*, Mary Lou Anderson's 1992 dissertation, "Catholic Women's Colleges and Feminism: A Case Study of Four Catholic Women's Colleges," Carol Coburn and Martha Smith's *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920*, John J Fialka's *Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America*, and Kim Tolley's essay, "The Hallmarks of the Sisters of Notre

Dame de Namur in the West: Women Religious and Education in the United States,” from the collection *Women’s Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives* and finally, editors Tracy Schier’s and Cynthia Eagle Russett’s *Catholic Women’s Colleges in America*.

The first work included, though not strictly an educational history, considered the many factors that contributed to American Catholic women’s education and experience in the nineteenth century. In Hasia R. Diner’s study of ethnicity, *Erin’s Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century*,²⁷ Diner wrote about the experience and agency of Irish immigrant women in the United States in the decades after the Irish Potato Famine. Diner’s thesis stated that elements of Irish culture shaped Irish immigrant women’s experiences in the United States so strongly that the patterns that emerged continued with first generation Irish Americans and even further. For Diner, the social patterns that emerged in Ireland in the decades surrounding the Famine are key to understanding Irish women in the United States. The strategies that helped families and towns survive in Ireland became embedded in Irish culture and despite changes in time and space, Irish immigrants adapted and adhered to these same cultural tendencies to survive in the United States. Diner paints a picture of how Irish Catholic women engineered options for other Irish Catholic women to work, to gain education, and to utilize social services in their new country. This study addressed the French heritage of the Congregation of the Holy Cross combined with the sensibilities of American-born nuns²⁸ in examining Saint Mary’s educational culture. As an early minority, the networks formed by

²⁷ Hasia R. Diner, *Erin’s Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

²⁸ Many of the nuns during the 1850s and 1860s were first-generation Americans born of Irish and German parents (Costin, *Priceless Spirit*, 82).

Catholic women for Catholic women in nineteenth-century America became apparent in this research, an idea first found in Diner's work.

In Mary Lou Anderson's 1992 dissertation, "Catholic women's colleges and feminism: a case study of four Catholic women's colleges,"²⁹ Anderson presented an ideological study of Catholic feminism. She traced the development these ideas at four Catholic women's colleges in the twentieth century, dividing the case studies into three time periods.³⁰ She highlighted the tension between the official position of the Catholic Church on Catholic womanhood with the work of nuns in the United States. While male Church leaders often worried that women's rights and higher education would lead to a decline in Catholic marriages, homes, and children, it endorsed orders of nuns that offered women acceptable alternatives to these paths. Anderson's study examined the relationship between Catholic women's colleges, feminist goals, and a specifically Catholic brand of feminism; she considered the orders of women who founded the colleges in trying to understand the context and culture of the schools.

According to Anderson, in the early period at Saint Mary's College, school leaders stressed the educational training of women for home life and for "womanly" careers; on the other hand, they did not support other early feminist goals that did not align with Catholic beliefs.³¹ Anderson pointed out that during the second time period, under the leadership of the dynamic Sister Madeleva Wolff, school leaders championed decidedly feminist goals, as long as they aligned with Catholic beliefs. Anderson explained, "The curriculum was liberal arts, it was

²⁹ Mary Lou Anderson, "Catholic Women's Colleges and Feminism: A Case Study of Four Catholic Women's Colleges," (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, 1992).

³⁰ The time periods she used were: 1895 to 1928, 1928 to 1955, and 1955 to 1990; the four colleges were: Trinity College, the College of St. Catherine, Regis College, and St. Mary's College.

³¹ See discussion: Anderson, "Catholic Women's Colleges and Feminism," 58-59.

Catholic and it was oriented to women...St. Mary's accepted the feminist goal of education and the feminist value of women's unique role as wife/mother."³² In the final period, she traces the development of a more "woman-centered" curriculum. Anderson concluded that Catholic sisters lived a life outside of mainstream domesticity, and by promoting educational opportunities for women, they developed a Catholic feminism that also differed institutionally; the case study of Saint Mary's in this paper built on Anderson's theory, using the Civil War decade as its parameter to look at the way Catholic leaders utilized and modified popular middle-class, white notions of womanhood. The Catholic womanhood explored in this paper was just one version of Catholic femininity; however, additional studies would be needed to compare the version developed at Saint Mary's Academy during this decade with others.

Three recent studies that looked at the work of specific orders of Catholic nuns in the United States are Carol Coburn and Martha Smith's *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920*, John J Fialka's *Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America*, and Kim Tolley's essay, "The Hallmarks of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in the West: Women Religious and Education in the United States," from the collection *Women's Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives*, discussed above. These studies sought to rediscover the work of Catholic nuns throughout the United States' history and placed individual nuns, entire orders, and these generations of Catholic women as founders, administrators and workers of schools, hospitals, orphanages, and community outreach programs. In *Spirited Lives*, Carol Coburn and Martha Smith's book,³³ the authors pointed out

³² Ibid., 72-73.

³³ Carol Coburn and Martha Smith, *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 3.

that the sheer number of institutions started and maintained by Catholic nuns indicated the impact these women had in Catholic (and even non-Catholic) communities in many cities and towns across the country, yet mainstream women's historians and mainstream Catholic historians have written little about them. They explained, "by 1920, Catholic sisters had created and/or maintained approximately 500 hospitals, 50 women's colleges, and over 6,000 parochial schools, serving 1.7 million school children in every region of the country, both urban and rural."³⁴ The authors maintained that those who study Catholic culture in United States history must aim to rediscover the prolific work of these women.

Because of the structure of the Catholic Church and the culture of most sisterhoods, their individual and group work has gone subverted, unnoticed, or undocumented. As Colborn and Smith pointed out: "Although historically almost invisible, American sisters were some of the best educated and most publicly active women of their time."³⁵ The freeing of the sisters from marriage and children coupled with the nature of their work made education, careers, and leadership roles not only available, but desirable for these women to fill. All-female settings allowed these nuns to publicly work and achieve power despite the gender constrictions of the Catholic Church. Coburn and Smith argued that researchers must take care to understand the variation of Catholic beliefs and experiences, even among the women religious. While their case study focused on the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet from 1836 to 1920, the authors stated carefully: "we recognize that no one congregation can be seen as 'typical' of the more than 300 American sisterhoods, which included large and small, rural and urban, localized and extended,

³⁴ Ibid., *Spirited Lives*, 2.

³⁵ Ibid., 3.

ethnically diverse and homogeneous groups.”³⁶ Considerations of ethnicity, region, and order are all key in understanding the sisters’ motivations, goals, and efforts in their work, including their work in education. Different orders had varying levels of autonomy, varying social missions, and varying educational missions which also changed over time and under different leaders. The version of Saint Mary’s Academy in this study may be markedly different than under the leadership of its predecessors and, in turn, of its successors.

In John J Fialka’s *Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America*,³⁷ Fialka also stated that historians have largely ignored nuns and their contributions in major writings on Catholic history in the United States. In his book, he traced the founding of the Sisters of Mercy in Dublin through their establishment and proliferation in the United States. Fialka argued that the sisterhood in the United States offered Catholic women the chance to have more freedom in a socially acceptable and respectable way (i.e., in spaces not normally reserved for middle-class single women such as the Western frontier, cities, etc.); these opportunities were not widely available to Protestant women, even to those of the same socioeconomic status. The schools, hospitals, orphanages, libraries, and social services founded across the United States by the sisters of the Holy Cross, as well as their work in the Civil War, were possible because of the different set of norms imposed by various Catholic womanhoods.

In Kim Tolley’s “The Hallmarks of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in the West: Women Religious and Education in the United States,”³⁸ Tolley also pressed for the inclusion of Catholic nuns in early women’s educational history. The order she researched, the Sisters of

³⁶ Ibid., 4.

³⁷ John J. Fialka, *Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003).

³⁸ Nash, ed., *Women’s Higher Education*, 211-232.

Notre Dame de Namur, founded one of the first colleges for women in the United States, the College of Notre Dame de Namur, in 1851.³⁹ In her writing Tolley rallied against women's educational historians who have ignored Catholic women's education and Catholic women's work in education. She characterized the study of Catholic sisters in the United States as a missed subfield in Atlantic history.⁴⁰ European orders, in Tolley's research and in this piece, both French, established themselves in the new and expanding United States and along the way founded schools, among other social services. Tolley also presented a nuanced examination of the female religious within Catholicism and broader society. While these nuns functioned within a highly patriarchal religion, they had quite a bit of autonomy and frequently pushed back against male authority. Similar conclusions are presented in this case study. The Church valued teaching nuns in order to anchor and develop American Catholic communities. The American Church desired educated Catholic mothers to nourish and expand their families into a broader, more powerful Catholic community and it needed large numbers of administrative and educated nuns to realize this goal.⁴¹

In *Catholic Women's Colleges in America* editors Tracy Schier and Cynthia Eagle Russett⁴² explored the overlooked world of Catholic women's schools, asserting that women's educational scholars have ignored Catholic women's colleges for a number of reasons, among them the late nineteenth century surge in Catholic immigration, mainstream Protestant domination and disdain for Catholicism, the self-isolation of Catholic communities and the

³⁹ Ibid., 212.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 212.

⁴¹ Ibid., 216.

⁴² Tracy Schier and Cynthia Eagle Russett, eds., *Catholic Women's Colleges in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

working class nature of many Catholic education programs.⁴³ They echoed the writers included above by pointing out the absence of historical research:

The richness of the lives of Roman Catholic nuns who, throughout two millennia, have been teachers, scholars, artists, mystics, and writers has...not been well documented. Nor has attention been paid to the influence of their teaching, scholarship, artistic output, mystical experience, and writing. Even within Catholic circles, the story of Catholic higher education for women and of the women who made it happen remains a closed book.⁴⁴

Catholic sisters often took the initiative to support schools for women, and despite growing out of a patriarchal religion, nuns lived a decidedly distinct lifestyle from the typical ideals of domesticity, often in all-female atmospheres. In Schier and Russett's collection, researchers traced the development of women's higher education through several lenses of analysis including transatlantic, theological, sociological, and social, among others. This collection of authors concluded that more historians need to perform research on Catholic women's education to more fully understand the role Catholic institutions and educators have played in the larger system of American education, a challenge to which this study hoped to contribute.

Works Specifically on Saint Mary's Academy, College, or the Sisters of the Holy Cross⁴⁵

While researchers included Saint Mary's (Academy) College in several the works mentioned above, the pieces in this section focused solely on the school, its leaders, or the Sisters of the Holy Cross. Included in this section are: two histories of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, A

⁴³ Ibid., *Catholic Women's Colleges*. See Introduction.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that most of the works listed here are written by women who have intimate connections to the Order. Four of the authors are Holy Cross Sisters. McCandless was an alumna of Saint Mary's College. While Holy Cross Sisters did not run the schools McAllister attended, she did attend parochial schools run by Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur and her first book was on Ellen Ewing, cousin of Mother Angela and wife of General Sherman, whose children attended Saint Mary's Academy and Notre Dame.

Story of Fifty Years: From the Annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross and Sister Georgia M. Costin's book, *Priceless Spirit: A History of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1841-1893*, a biography of Mother Angela Gillespie, Anna Shannon McAllister's *Flame in the Wilderness: Life and Letters of Mother Angela Gillespie, 1824-1887, American Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Cross*, a history of Saint Mary's College Alumna Association, Marian McCandless' *Family Portraits: History of the Holy Cross Alumnae Association of Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana: 1879-1949*, an institutional history of Saint Mary's College, *A Panorama: 1844-1977, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana*, by Sister Mary Immaculate Creek (Dr. Helen Creek), and finally a short book on the physical spaces of Saint Mary's College, *Benchmarks: Saint Mary's and How it Grew* by Sister Monica Wagner.⁴⁶

The Sisters of the Holy Cross produced the oldest of the works, *A Story of Fifty Years: From the Annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross*,⁴⁷ in commemoration of their fiftieth anniversary in the United States, circa 1905.⁴⁸ This work praised all the founding figures of Saint Mary's Academy and Notre Dame, frequently explaining away disagreements or difficulties in the order's history by focusing on positive outcomes. While invaluable as a source of information, the anonymous author(s) of this early history wrote this as a celebratory piece rather than a probing analysis of the sisterhood's works. This book reproduced several excerpts from letters and documents, and also included recollections of sisters told through narrated text.

⁴⁶ These works will be discussed chronologically.

⁴⁷ Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years*.

⁴⁸ This book, with no specific author credited, provided another example of how the culture of Catholic religious life often subverted the work of individual nuns. The book only credited one name, Bishop H.J. Aldering of Fort Wayne, writer of the introduction. Despite the lack of recognition generally found in historical works thus discussed above, Aldering praised the foremothers of the Holy Cross order, crediting them with the flourishing of Christian education in the United States exclaiming, "How truly great and noble these Sisters are!" (Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years*, ix).

Much of the history presented aligned with later works, and subsequent authors used it as a source material for their later histories written about the order and about Saint Mary's Academy.

Decades later, in 1944, Anna Shannon McAllister wrote *Flame in the Wilderness: Life and Letters of Mother Angela Gillespie, 1824-1887, American Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Cross*,⁴⁹ as part of a series of writings for the centennial of the order's foundation in 1824. This biography of Mother Angela Gillespie placed her firmly as a cultural, spiritual, intellectual, and pragmatic shaper of Saint Mary's Academy, among other institutions around the United States. McAllister characterized Mother Angela using not only Gillespie's personal letters, papers, and archival work, but also interviews with family, friends, colleagues, and students who knew Gillespie during her life. This biography painted a portrait of Mother Angela as a major shaper of Catholic womanhood. Her career and vocation as a nun shaped the expectations and realities of thousands of Catholic girls in the United States. McAllister also underscored Mother Angela's educational work at Saint Mary's Academy.

In Marian McCandless' *Family Portraits: History of the Holy Cross Alumnae Association of Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana: 1879-1949*,⁵⁰ the first alumnae secretary of the college and namesake of Marion McCandless Hall on campus chronicled the founding and development of the alumnae association of Saint Mary's. McCandless' goals for the book included "contribut[ing] interesting data to the history of higher education for women in the country" and "giv[ing] Holy Cross alumnae the opportunity to recapture the years that link the alumnae of today with those young women who, in 1879, were present at the first meeting of

⁴⁹ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*.

⁵⁰ Marion McCandless, *Family Portraits: History of the Holy Cross Alumnae Association of Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1879-1949* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1952).

Saint Mary's post-graduates.”⁵¹ In the pursuit of these goals, McCandless reconstructed the organization's meetings and included indices of officers, founding of branches and members of the group. This book read partially like a memoir and partially like someone recounting lovingly her favorite family memories.

The school also published an additional small work called *Benchmarks: Saint Mary's and How it Grew* by Sister Monica Wagner.⁵² This short work recounted the physical growth of the grounds and buildings of Saint Mary's College from its first campus in Bertrand, Michigan, through its movement to South Bend, Indiana, and into the 1980s. This book contained valuable information from archives not currently available at the writing of this paper and examined the physical creation of the school.

Sister Mary Immaculate Creek (Dr. Helen Creek) wrote *A Panorama: 1844-1977, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana*, an institutional history of the school.⁵³ Sister Creek spent time in her introduction reflecting on the meaning of Catholic womanhood at Saint Mary's, indirectly referencing the issue of Catholic feminism. Sister Creek wrote:

not from lack of liberty but from free choice, Saint Mary's women have rejected the avant-garde feminist preference for woman's quasi-identity with man. They have been consistent in the belief that woman is the equal of man in human dignity and in all rights, but different from him in her particular qualities of mind and heart, often different from him in what she can contribute to a world in which both must live.⁵⁴

⁵¹ McCandless, *Family Portraits*, xix.

⁵² Wagner, *Benchmarks*.

⁵³ Creek, *A Panorama*.

⁵⁴ Creek, *A Panorama*, xii.

Sister Creek seemed to abandon this strong set-up statement on Catholic feminism in the actual text of the book, providing a basic chronicle of the school's history from "within the system."

This book did give valuable historical context for this work.

Most recently, Sister Georgia M. Costin wrote *Priceless Spirit: A History of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1841-1893*,⁵⁵ in 1994. Costin's book added new details about the disagreements and push back from the Sisters of the Holy Cross in their relationships with their male counterparts in the Order. Though older works reference these disagreements, the authors discussed topics in language often couched in holy humility and obedience to superiors. While Costin concedes that the sisters always ultimately observed their vow of obedience, her history of the sisters made it clear that when it came to their own well-being, missions, and institutions these women shared and shared loudly their voices and opinions. The leadership from women like Mother Angela paralleled the leadership of Father Sorin, Father Moreau and other titans in the history of the order. This book delicately explores the parameters of the relationships, power struggles, and limits of the women who defined Catholic womanhood within the order and throughout their schools, hospitals, and other institutions.

This Case Study of Saint Mary's Academy

This thesis sought to answer some of the questions raised and left unanswered in the works above by focusing on how the leadership of one Catholic, women's school, Saint Mary's Academy, utilized language and gender conventions to recruit students to their institution, and how these leaders served as both gatekeepers and shapers of educational and gendered norms for their students. This study considered how factors included or ignored by the authors above such

⁵⁵ Costin, *Priceless Spirit*.

as religion, ethnicity, region, and social class affected the language choices and thus the ideologies espoused by the academy. It also tried to understand how these choices and ideologies shifted over the course of the decade due to changing conceptions of gender brought on by the upheaval of the Civil War. The next section provided a sketch of the educational atmosphere for girls in the antebellum period, as well as a brief overview of the history of Saint Mary's Academy.

Chapter 3

Saint Mary's Academy and Girls' Education in the Antebellum Period

This chapter provided historical context for the analysis of the catalogues in the next two chapters. This chapter first offered an overview of American girls' education in the antebellum period, with special consideration for Catholic education. The next sections gave a short synopsis of the history of the founding of Saint Mary's Academy including: a brief history of the Congregation of the Holy Cross and its members' arrival in the United States, the founding of the school, and a short explanation of how the school's main leader and influencer during the Civil War decade, Mother Angela Gillespie, came to the order and academy. The final section looked at some of the possible educational influences on the school. These sections offered a brief framework upon which to contextualize the analysis of the catalogues.

Girls' Education in the United States in the Antebellum Period

During the antebellum period, the educational opportunities for wealthy and middle-class white women began to expand. Reformers called for the improved education of women and girls, but because of the newly developed ideas around the division of labor, placing middle-class women's appropriate place in the home sphere, gendered cultural tensions developed around the purpose and content of girls' education. In Barbara Miller Solomon's *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, she placed the

“woman question” at the center of the concerns surrounding girls’ education: if the purpose of a woman’s life centered in the home, utilizing her skill sets in domestic life, then how should her education prepare her for that?¹ In the early nineteenth century, most of the girls’ institutions available were understaffed and under-resourced compared to boys’ institutions of the same period.² Many middle-class Americans harbored different goals for their daughters’ education than for their sons. Rather than explicitly trying to prepare girls to take on a career or manage estates, parents employed education as a marker of refinement and status, to help with marriage prospects and to develop the skills needed to manage an appropriate household.³ But as the first generations of educated American women came up in the early nineteenth century, the call for girls’ educational reform began to sound. Women’s purpose in the gendered framework of spheres began to broaden, and so too did their education.⁴

In the antebellum period, leaders in the field of women’s education began to argue for higher standards for girls’ learning. Catharine Beecher was one such leader. She founded Hartford Female Seminary among other girls’ schools and authored a popular book on women in the home. Beecher wrote in early educational journals about the need to provide girls with a more comprehensive education. In her biography on Beecher, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity*, Katherine Kish Sklar explained that Beecher’s work “was an appeal to the public to alter its attitude toward female education.”⁵ Sklar continued, Beecher “insist[ed]

¹ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 27.

² Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: Norton, 1976), 75-76.

³ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁴ Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 27.

⁵ Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 75.

that young women should not be educated to be genteel ornaments...[she] maintained that the purpose of a young woman's education was to enable her to translate her knowledge into action."⁶ Beecher's argument for an elevation of status for girls' education did not indicate a radical position on gender relations. Instead, she modified the available framework and language of spheres to demand that girls and women be taken seriously as scholars. She argued that for women to fulfill their social role as guardians of the domestic realm and protectors of American virtue, they must be fully educated to think and act in the domain for which nature suited them.⁷ So while Beecher pushed the boundaries of how Americans approached female education, she did so within a gendered framework that white, middle- and upper-class Americans already accepted and understood. She used the separation of spheres to elevate the importance of a rigorous education for girls by underscoring the influence of women in the domestic realm and utilizing the language of domesticity. Beecher's command of preexisting gendered language and ideas allowed her to mold existing frameworks to achieve small changes. Her arguments fit within acceptable social parameters, making them more easily digestible and influential among other middle-class thinkers. Another growing group of American women, Catholics, widely utilized this "within the system approach" as well.⁸

⁶ Ibid., 76.

⁷ Ibid., 113.

⁸ Ibid., 137. Beecher's spheres approach to the advocacy of girls' education was, of course, not the only one. While Beecher chose to work within the gender narratives available, others, like the Grimké sisters, challenged the boundaries of women's position in broader society (Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 29). Women like Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton sought to reform and reject the rhetoric of spheres. Women trying to reject this framework faced a much harder battle than those working within it (Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked*, 114-116). Sklar explains, "Angelina and Sarah Grimké did not think it was demanding too much...to eliminate the habitual prerogatives of the male as well as the traditional privileges of the aristocracy...Catharine Beecher deemed it more prudent to consolidate the culture around known female and male virtues...In the decades ahead, Americans moved far toward adopting the Grimkés' views of slavery, but they sided with Catharine Beecher's views on women" (Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 137). Many mainstream Americans considered women trying to eliminate class and gender inequalities radical. The Grimké sisters seemingly only represented a small portion of nineteenth-century attitudes. Whereas thinkers like Beecher, who used already-accepted gender

Catholic Education in the Nineteenth Century

Despite holding quite conservative beliefs about gender, many Catholic male leaders in the United States valued and promoted the education of Catholic girls.⁹ Catholic leaders saw the education of girls and boys as a means of ensuring both the continuity of the Catholic population and the promotion of Catholic interests in the United States. In the nineteenth century, the growing Catholic immigrant population, particularly from Ireland and Germany, faced anti-Catholic and anti-Immigrant rhetoric, policy, and attacks. In his book, *Inventing America's First Immigration Crisis: Political Nativism in the Antebellum West*, Luke Ritter explained that the public-school agenda of promoting Protestant, Christian nationalism meant that Catholic immigrants often felt the need to look elsewhere for their children's education. Private Catholic schools protected and preserved Catholic culture and religion in the sometimes-hostile environment of the antebellum United States, thus making it a priority in American dioceses. By encouraging the support and flourishing of Catholic immigrant populations, Catholic education hoped to produce a growth in numbers, as well as bolster political and economic power in the United States.¹⁰

Brother and sister schools founded near one another generated potential Catholic marriage pools. Girls educated in Catholic schools could either raise Catholic children or enter religious life, both vital for the success of the religion in the United States.¹¹ As more middle-

frameworks, enjoyed wide influence in the antebellum period, thinkers like the Grimkés faced harsher criticism from their historical counterparts.

⁹ This is illustrated later in this chapter by men like Father Edward Sorin and Father Anthony Basil Moreau.

¹⁰ Luke Ritter, *Inventing America's First Immigration Crisis: Political Nativism in the Antebellum West*, Catholic Practice in North America (New York: Fordham University Press, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv119907b>.

¹¹ Kim Tolley, "The Hallmarks of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in the West: Women Religious and Education in the United States," in *Women's Higher Education in the United States*, Historical Studies in Education,

and upper-class women sought formal education in the early part of the century, “educated” became a sought-after characteristic in a middle- to upper-class wife and homemaker in the United States, no matter the denomination, but particularly in fledgling Catholic communities.¹² In order to support the goal of Catholic education in the United States, the church relied heavily on the work of Catholic educators and administrators, particularly nuns.

The “woman question” discussed above held slightly different dimensions for Catholic women, giving the Catholic expansion of girls’ education distinction from the Protestant debates surrounding girls’ schools. Joining the sisterhood provided Catholic women an additional avenue outside of marriage and children. The Church counted women among its educators, mystics, and workers, and most Catholics already accepted and respected religious life as an alternative to family life. While not all Catholic women desired this route, and the Church maintained racial and class barriers creating unequal opportunities in the nineteenth century, many Catholic European immigrants, and their first- and second-generation American daughters found religious life a viable alternative. Historian Kim Tolley pointed out that “The number of female religious orders increased dramatically from 1822 to 1920, with the number of members roughly doubling each decade.”¹³ European Catholic orders transplanted to the United States sometimes founded Catholic girls’ schools as a continuation of their overall mission that had originated in their mother countries; other times the orders founded these schools out of necessity

ed. Margaret Nash (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2018), 211-232, <https://doi-org.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/10.1057/978-1-137-59084-8>.

¹² Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 37.

¹³ Kim Tolley, “The Hallmarks of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in the West: Women Religious and Education in the United States,” in *Women’s Higher Education in the United States, Historical Studies in Education*, ed. Margaret Nash (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2018), 211-232, <https://doi-org.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/10.1057/978-1-137-59084-8>.

for their new Catholic communities. American-born girls, some of whom received their own education in these young schools, could choose to join the orders who taught them, thus supporting the education of the next generation of girls. Nuns, along with the support of networks of Catholic women, took on roles in the founding, teaching, running, and sometimes financing of girls' schools in the United States.¹⁴ In the next section, the history of the founding of Saint Mary's Academy began to provide concrete illustrations of the educational milieu above.

Saint Mary's Academy History and Founding

The story of Saint Mary's Academy began in May of 1843, when four Sisters of the Holy Cross arrived in America from Le Mans, France. Just seven years prior to their arrival, a French priest named Basil Anthony Moreau founded the Congregation of the Holy Cross¹⁵ just outside of Le Mans. The order quickly started a boys' boarding school, requesting that nuns from other orders come to provide domestic support to the men. When superiors rejected their pleas, Moreau founded an additional branch of his organization for nuns. While practically he founded the sisterhood to provide labor for the other two male branches, Moreau also hoped the new

¹⁴ This will be discussed more in relation to Saint Mary's Academy in later chapters. Additional interesting studies on Catholic women and their female networks are: Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); John J. Fialka, *Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003); Carol Coburn and Martha Smith, *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

¹⁵ This order's name in Latin is *Congregatio a Sancta Cruce*, abbreviated as C.S.C., the acronym seen behind member's names today on written materials. The name of the order comes from its founding location in France, Sainte Croix, and the inspiration drawn from the theology of the cross by its founder, Basil Moreau. ("Congregation of Holy Cross," University of Notre Dame, 2021, <https://www.nd.edu/faith-and-service/congregation-of-holy-cross/#:~:text=For%20this%20reason%2C%20he%20dedicated,Fr>).

sisters would provide education and direction to Catholic girls. The first women took the habit in 1841 and thus began the work of the Sisters of the Holy Cross.¹⁶

The year before the establishment of the sisterhood, a young man named Edward Sorin joined the new association.¹⁷ During his long career and life as the founder of both the American branch of the Congregation of the Holy Cross and the school that would eventually become the University of Notre Dame, Father Sorin greatly influenced the sisters' eventual arrival and work in America. The year after Sorin joined the order, Moreau sent him and six other brothers to the United States to answer the call for support from a missionary diocese in Vincennes, Indiana.¹⁸ Once in the United States, Sorin eventually ended up on a Catholic property further north in Indiana,¹⁹ where, in 1842, he founded a Catholic boys' school and college named Notre Dame du Lac.²⁰

Almost immediately upon his arrival at the site, Father Sorin wrote to Abbé Moreau, requesting that he send Sisters of the Holy Cross to the Midwest to assist with his efforts.²¹ The men who founded the mission and school desperately needed domestic help, but Sorin also envisioned more. He stated in an 1842 letter: "Once the sisters come...they must be prepared not

¹⁶ Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years: From the Annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1855-1905* (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1905), 5-8; Helen Creek, *A Panorama: 1844-1977, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1977), 2-6.

¹⁷ Father Sorin was born in 1814. Priests provided his education, and he himself entered the priesthood in 1838, joining the CSC in 1840 (Creek, *A Panorama*, 6).

¹⁸ M. Georgia Costin, *Priceless Spirit: A History of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1841-1893* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 1-2

¹⁹ Fr. Sorin ended up at the future site of Notre Dame because of its status as a mission area to the Potawatomi. It served as a French Catholic site from 1686 to 1759 and then again in 1830 (Creek, *A Panorama*, 7).

²⁰ Creek, *A Panorama*, 2-11.

²¹ Monica Wagner, *Benchmarks: Saint Mary's College, How It Grew* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1990), 10.

merely for domestic work, but also for teaching.”²² By 1844 the State of Indiana had already granted Notre Dame a charter to award diplomas, and as the school grew Sorin hoped to also found a comparable center of learning for Catholic girls near the site.²³

The first group of Holy Cross Sisters sent to answer Sorin’s request arrived in 1843; at first Sorin housed them at Notre Dame, but eventually he secured land in Bertrand, Michigan, to serve as a location for the sisters’ new novitiate, school, and orphanage. The mission of this new group started as a local effort: the sisters cared for the sick and orphaned, taught these children as well as other local farm children, and provided laundry and domestic services for the men and boys at Notre Dame.²⁴ In 1844 the Sisters of the Holy Cross founded a formal academy at Bertrand and within a year they generated enough interest from both prospective students and girls seeking to join the sisterhood that they planned to expand.²⁵

By 1848, the school began to shape up as a more formal institution. It drew students from multiple states and published the first school catalogue.²⁶ In 1849 Mother Marie du Sauveur, the French-educated superior in Saint-Laurent, Canada, provided the school with temporary leadership. Sauveur insisted on the academic training of the nuns who served as teachers and she sent new sisters away to procure a formal education to prepare them to teach at the school.²⁷

²² Fr. Edward Sorin to Father General Moreau, December 5, 1842, *The Circular Letters of Father Sorin, CSC, 1845-1893*, Father Superior’s Letters of 1842, Letters as Superior at Notre Dame and Provincial, 261, University of Notre Dame Archives, <http://archives.nd.edu/circulars/CLP2-1842.pdf>.

²³ Creek, *A Panorama*, 2-11.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2-11.

²⁵ Originally the order called the school Our Lady of Seven Dolors; it became Saint Mary’s Academy in 1848. The school also held its first commencement in 1848 (*Ibid.*, *A Panorama*, 12-13; Wagner, *Benchmarks*, 14).

²⁶ From 1850 through 1905 this catalogue contained an advertisement for Notre Dame and vice versa (*Ibid.*, 24).

²⁷ Creek, *A Panorama*, 13.

Professors from Notre Dame also came to the Bertrand campus to teach both the nuns and the students.²⁸ At this point, Father Sorin contemplated the future of the academy and hoped to find a strong leader for the girls' school. He hoped for someone who could support his vision of creating a center for Catholic learning in the Midwest by helping to build Saint Mary's Academy as the sister school to Notre Dame. He found this leadership in an American woman named Eliza Gillespie.

Eliza Gillespie: Mother Angela

Eliza Maria Gillespie, born in Pennsylvania in 1824,²⁹ grew up in an atmosphere of wealth. Her family enjoyed good social connections, and Gillespie received formal education at a prestigious Catholic boarding school, Georgetown Visitation Academy, in Washington, DC. After she graduated in 1842,³⁰ she taught at an Episcopal seminary for several years, despite being Catholic. The school recognized Gillespie for her teaching abilities and asked her to direct the school. During her time teaching, she participated in literary societies and engaged in charity work, including raising funds for victims of the famine in Ireland.³¹ In addition to these social, educational, and economic advantages, while living at home, Gillespie actively participated in the running of her stepfather's large estate, providing her with business and management

²⁸ Wagner, *Benchmarks*, 25.

²⁹ Gillespie's ancestors came to the United States from Scotland before the American Revolution. Her father passed away during her childhood; after this loss, her mother remarried a wealthy Ohioan, William Phelan, and the family moved to Lancaster, Ohio. Gillespie's family connections now included the prominent Ewing family. Senator Thomas Ewing served as Secretary of the Treasury under William Henry Harrison and Secretary of the Interior under Zachary Taylor, and his daughter, Ellen Ewing, became the wife of General William Tecumseh Sherman. The Shermans' eventual children attended Saint Mary's and Notre Dame. (Creek, *A Panorama*, 16; Wagner, *Benchmarks*, 16).

³⁰ Creek, *A Panorama*, 19.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

experience.³² All of these elements combined to produce an exceptional candidate for leadership in Gillespie.

In 1853, Gillespie had intended to become a sister of the Order of Mercy in Chicago; as she made her way to their novitiate, she stopped in South Bend first to visit with her brother, a Notre Dame student and eventual Holy Cross priest. During this trip, Gillespie somewhat uncomfortably encountered Father Sorin, who adamantly announced to her that she was the leader for whom he had been waiting.³³ After some serious contemplation, Gillespie heeded Sorin's confident prediction and joined the Sisters of the Holy Cross at the age of 29, taking the name Sister Mary of Saint Angela, or Sister Angela, for short.³⁴ From here, Father Sorin sent Gillespie to France to finish her religious and pedagogical education at a convent in Caen. At the conclusion of her studies and after the profession of her vows, Father Sorin personally fetched Sister Angela from France to serve as the new director of Saint Mary's Academy beginning in 1854.³⁵ Her eventual rise to the position of Mother Superior changed her title to Mother Angela.³⁶

Shortly before Mother Angela's tenure as leader of the school, the order made the decision to move the academy from its site in Bertrand, Michigan to its present site in South Bend, Indiana. The Bertrand location had become too cramped, and Father Sorin looked to move

³² *Ibid.*, 19.

³³ Anna Shannon McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness: Life and Letters of Mother Angela Gillespie, C.S.C., 1824-1887, American Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Cross*, Centenary Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 6, (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1944), 86-101.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁵ Creek, *A Panorama*, 21.

³⁶ For the remainder of this thesis, she will be referred to as either Mother Angela, or by her surname, Gillespie.

the academy to a location closer to Notre Dame. New improvements in communication and travel made the area attractive; Notre Dame opened a post office in 1851, and that same year marked the completion of the first railroads between Chicago and South Bend.³⁷ When the land across from Notre Dame became available in the early months of 1855, Sorin purchased the acreage and procured a mortgage for the sisters.³⁸ The contractors finished the first building later that year. In the years leading into the 1860s the school continued to grow alongside Notre Dame.³⁹ Builders began a new academic building in 1861, called the Academy,⁴⁰ and added a music hall by 1865.⁴¹ The sister school to Notre Dame, so desired and worked for by Father Sorin and Mother Angela to round out this Catholic center of learning in the Midwest, had become a reality.

Educational Influences on the Catalogues and Academy

Saint Mary's Academy was a Midwestern institute influenced by the school's French heritage combined with its emerging American leadership, vision, and goals. In the early days of the school, before the arrival of Mother Angela, Father Sorin already started the process of creating an appropriately trained teaching staff. As mentioned above, Mother Marie du Sauveur,

³⁷ Marion McCandless, *Family Portraits; History of the Holy Cross Alumnae Association of Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1879-1949* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1952), 5-6.

³⁸ Upon seeing the new land purchased for the sisters, Mother Angela's stepfather, William Phelan offered Father Sorin an arrangement in which Phelan donated a large amount of property to the order to help offset the incurred cost in exchange for just assuming the mortgages of the properties. The order paid an annual fee to the Phelans until their deaths and allowed the Phelans to stay at a cottage on Saint Mary's campus whenever they pleased (McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 123).

³⁹ Wagner, *Benchmarks*, 34.

⁴⁰ Today this is called Bertrand Hall.

⁴¹ Wagner, *Benchmarks*, 35-37.

a French-educated woman serving as a religious leader in Canada, joined Sorin in order to assist in organizing and training the staff. She helped the still-learning nuns in their teaching and sent promising sisters to a college in Kentucky for training in art and music; she even sent one of the sisters for post-collegiate training in France. Newly accepted nuns designated to become teachers lived temporarily at Notre Dame to take classes in both religion and classics at the university.⁴²

These factors produced a strong French influence on the early curriculum.⁴³ In *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France*, Rebecca Rogers explained that in the French education system, bourgeois French girls had to attend private institutions, as state schools only accepted boys until 1880.⁴⁴ The Catholic Church often ran these private schools and Rogers argued that “many teaching nuns were in fact highly educated women whose efforts to promote serious education for women changed the character of institutional offerings.”⁴⁵ Many of the founding women of Saint Mary’s received their education in France, or in America by French teachers, and would have directly benefited from and been influenced by the French, Catholic, female push for more academic rigor for girls.⁴⁶ In “The Hallmarks of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in the West: Women Religious and Education in the United States,” Kim Tolley placed these networks of Catholic nun educators as part of a broader web of a trans-Atlantic exchange of ideas and reforms in the late eighteenth and early

⁴² Creek, *A Panorama*, 12.

⁴³ Fr. Edward Sorin and Mother Sauveur mentioned above were both French. Father Sorin sent Mother Angela and many of the other sisters to France also to finish their religious training.

⁴⁴ Rebecca Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 3.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

nineteenth centuries.⁴⁷ In Sister Monica Wagner's history of Saint Mary's, *Benchmarks: Saint Mary's College How It Grew*, she traced a direct connection between the early curriculum and the French-educated Sisters stating, "the Bertrand program of studies reflect[ed] the trivium-quadrivium, or seven liberal arts curriculum. The teachers themselves had been educated in that tradition."⁴⁸ These first French and French-educated nuns who founded the academy and shaped its curriculum and culture before the arrival of Mother Angela paved the way for her work.⁴⁹

The educational background and goals of Mother Angela Gillespie influenced the school's direction also; during her tenure as director of Saint Mary's, she heavily influenced and shaped the school's culture. Gillespie received her childhood education at prestigious schools in the Midwest and the East. She taught for several years in Protestant schools as a lay teacher before entering religious life, and then received her training for the sisterhood, which included pedagogical training, in France. By the time Mother Angela arrived back in Indiana to take over the institution, she envisioned big plans for the academy. According to her biographer, "She intended, with [Sorin's] entire approval, to place Saint Mary's on a scholastic footing with

⁴⁷ Tolley, "The Hallmarks of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur," 211-232.

⁴⁸ Wagner, *Benchmarks*, 25.

⁴⁹ The language and ideology of spheres became more dominant in France after the chaos of the French Revolution. The French Civil Code denied women many of the same rights denied to American women in this same period and a new emphasis on women's role as wife and mother began in the wake of the Revolution. (Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom*, 17). Examples of these parallels include restrictive legal rights against women serving as legal witnesses or guardians of their own children. In France, the government encouraged women to assert their influence in the home, but educational reformers also used this emphasis on the domestic character of women to push for better education of girls (Ibid. 22-25) In Rogers' analysis of French thinkers focused on women's roles in the early nineteenth century; she explained: "These authors emphasized women's roles as wives and mothers while arguing that private life had assumed new importance." (Ibid., 25.) She continued, "Women required both religious and intellectual education to exercise their empire within the family.... feminine domestic responsibilities required a curriculum that would allow women to exert authority and influence in the regeneration of postrevolutionary society." (Ibid., 27). This French educational context paralleled American educational reform in many ways during the antebellum period. Both French and American arguments for the education of girls underscored the importance of formal learning for daughters to prepare them for their role in the private domain.

eastern schools.”⁵⁰ Gillespie reviewed every aspect of the academy, from the curriculum and the teaching staff and their methods, to the physical grounds and teaching implements of the school. She began from the start of her leadership to mold the academy into a first-rate girls’ school, even procuring a charter to issue degrees in 1855, clearing the way for its future as a Catholic women’s college.⁵¹ In Mother Angela, Father Sorin found a co-leader to shape the female side of his educational vision. Sorin’s French background and training combined with Mother Angela’s American sensibilities created a uniquely American, Catholic vision for the schools.

As director of the academy, Mother Angela would have been involved with the writing and editing of the catalogues.⁵² While many American institutions also put out these catalogues, the French background of the Holy Cross order may shed light on the purpose of these works. Rebecca Rogers discussed the tradition of the annual catalogue in French schools, explaining:

The schools that opened in the postrevolutionary years sought to attract a specific clientele through advertisements and prospectuses that defined their educational ethos... [These] sources reveal, not only the ethos of girls’ education in this period, but also the skills and talents considered necessary for the bourgeois woman.⁵³

Saint Mary’s distributed the first catalogue in 1848. This tradition continued with Mother Angela. Because she was both from a well-connected family and the first American-born leader of Saint Mary’s, she understood how to attract the type of patrons desired for the academy—she

⁵⁰ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 112.

⁵¹ The school did not award its first degrees until 1898 (Creek, *A Panorama*, 26-28).

⁵² No author is listed for the catalogues. Some of the catalogues included one non-student name in a section on addressing inquiries to the Mother Superior. In the fifth, eighth, tenth, and eleventh catalogues, no name is given, just “The Superior” or “Mother Superior.” In the sixth and seventh catalogue, a woman named, “Mother Elizabeth” served as the Superior of the sisters. During these years Mother Angela traveled much, running military hospitals, and organizing legions of sister-nurses in the Civil War; please see the fifth chapter for more information. The expanded thirteenth and fourteenth catalogues named Mother M. Angela as Mother Superior, and in the fifteenth catalogue, the name is removed back to just “Mother Superior.”

⁵³ Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom*, 50.

was intimately familiar with what middle-class families expected and desired in a female academy. In her biography of Mother Angela, *Flame in the Wilderness: Life and Letters of Mother Angela Gillespie, 1824-1887, American Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Cross*, Anna Shannon McAllister described Gillespie as “American to the core, this indomitable woman, following a French religious way of life, super-imposed on it her own highly original method of pedagogy. She modified and adapted foreign customs and made them American.”⁵⁴ With her background, Mother Angela surely understood the necessity and power of such a publication. This catalogue was more than informational; it drew support and attention to the goals of the school, as well as attracted pupils (and thus economic support) to the academy. Additionally, well-educated pupils could (and did) become future teachers and leaders for the school itself.⁵⁵

In studying the catalogues of Saint Mary’s Academy over the Civil War decade, it is possible to trace changing gendered language and ideas surrounding the students that attended the school. The changing course offerings, language, and rules gives readers insight to what school leaders felt appropriate and what they expected of Catholic girls and women of the period. Chapters four and six examined the catalogues published by Saint Mary’s Academy from 1860 through 1871. These chapters analyzed the changing educational and cultural influences on these works and the use of gendered language to address these changes during the upheaval of the Civil War decade in the United States.

⁵⁴ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, ix.

⁵⁵ As referenced in previous chapters, Nash’s question of female educator agency and power was very applicable here. Mother Angela still worked within the patriarchal confines of the Catholic Church, but she utilized the language of spheres to support her school and attract students.

Chapter 4

The Course Catalogues in the Civil War Years

The yearly catalogues of the academy purposely tried to appeal to a specific audience to entice students to the institution. Both Saint Mary's Academy and its brother school, the University of Notre Dame, put out yearly publications giving potential patrons information about the academic and moral training these boarding schools could offer to Catholic children and adolescents.¹ Across the entire decade, from 1860 through 1871, these catalogues provided a public summary of the institutions, conveying ideals and ideologies through these advertisements. This study analyzed the Saint Mary's Academy catalogues in two different chapters: the earlier catalogues of the Civil War years and the later catalogues of the Reconstruction years through the end of the decade.

The catalogues from the early part of the decade contained information about the school including: an overview of its location, grounds, and course offerings, required materials, pricing information, as well as lists and discussions of rules and expectations. Following this, they contained a list of students and their hometowns, an overview of the previous year's commencement and awards bestowed, and lastly, an advertisement for Notre Dame. This chapter

¹ Both schools accepted non-Catholic children. See seventh through twelfth catalogues in: *Catalogues of St. Mary's Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary's College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary's College Archive, Notre Dame, IN; and, *Notre Dame Annual Catalogues or Bulletins, 1850 - 1914*: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN. <http://archives.nd.edu/bulletin/>.

provided a study of the earlier catalogues of the decade, including the fifth through the eleventh catalogues, which correspond to writing and publishing years from roughly 1859 through 1865.² By the outbreak of the Civil War at the start of this decade, the antebellum language of spheres was at the height of its influence. The analysis of these earlier catalogues examined the presence and use of gendered language, ideas, and concerns prevalent in the antebellum debates surrounding girls' education expressed in the language of spheres. This chapter first looked at the curricular offerings of the academy, both liberal and ornamental, and the language used to discuss these offerings, and secondly examined other cultural commentary available in the early catalogues.

Course Offerings at the Academy: Liberal Studies

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the education of girls expanded; expectations and norms for what girls would be taught in new girls' institutions shifted as well. In Barbara Miller Solomon's *In the Company of Educated Women*, she explained that as more girls' academies opened in the early nineteenth century, their curriculum included much of the same offerings as men's colleges.³ This is certainly the case with the liberal studies courses offered at Saint Mary's and Notre Dame in the early part of the decade. While Saint Mary's early catalogues did not have a section in the prospectus outlining yearly studies like Notre Dame's

² Please see the Appendix and its accompanying table on difficulties in dating and numbering the catalogues.

³ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 19-20. Solomon explained that leaders founded the coeducational school of Oberlin in Ohio in 1833, and it served as a model for the coeducational institutions that appeared in the Midwest in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Saint Mary's and Notre Dame, being Catholic institutions, developed in the all-male and all-female brother/sister academies traditional to Catholic education.

catalogues, the listed course offerings and premiums awarded for the 1860 through 1864 school years allows a simple comparison of the curriculums.⁴ Both of the English departments offered instruction in Reading, Rhetoric, Composition, Grammar, Orthography, Elocution, Penmanship, and Letter Writing, with Notre Dame additionally offering awards for Recitation and Public Reading. Both schools offered history, natural philosophy, Christian Doctrine, and Geography, with Saint Mary's also including Philosophy and Notre Dame offering Christian Archeology. In the Science Department, Saint Mary's lists Chemistry, Botany, Astronomy, and the Natural Sciences, while Notre Dame only lists Metaphysics and Chemistry. They both offered French, German, Italian and Latin, but Notre Dame also offered Greek and Spanish. Both establishments offered Piano and Instrumental music (though specific instruments varied). Saint Mary's lists vocal music, both individual and choirs, while Notre Dame does not. Both offered calisthenics, and Saint Mary's offered riding and dancing as well. The similarities in course offerings suggested similar educational opportunities for the boys and girls attending the schools, particularly in their early years at the institutions.

Not only did young students at both schools receive similar content, but both groups were also taught by the Sisters of the Holy Cross. In Notre Dame's catalogues during the decade, they promoted their "minims" department for boys under ten, and advertised that "highly competent

⁴ This comparison included subjects found in written sections, price guides and premium distributions of the two schools' catalogues for these school years. Notre Dame's catalogues contained much more information on each grade level's courses of study, while Saint Mary's only listed general topics. In cases where Notre Dame listed specific topics, I generalized those specific topics into the main subject title. For example, in Notre Dame's nineteenth catalogue, leaders listed "geography" as a requirement for third year students while "Analytical Geography" was a requirement for Seniors. This type of detail was not available for comparison from Saint Mary's, who just lists "Geography" as a category for premiums of various grades (see "Nineteenth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Notre Dame Indiana," *Notre Dame Annual Catalogues or Bulletins, 1850 - 1914*: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN, http://archives.nd.edu/bulletin/AC_19.pdf, 9). It is important to note that if one institution listed a topic and the other did not, it did not mean that the school definitively did not offer instruction in these areas, just that they are not listed specifically anywhere in the catalogues.

female teachers” taught the preparatory courses.⁵ In addition, when Mother Angela and Father Sorin could find no textbooks to their liking, Mother Angela herself wrote a series of spellers and readers, which students then used not only at Saint Mary’s and Notre Dame, but at Catholic schools around the country and in Canada.⁶

The biggest differences in the course offerings at the schools appeared in mathematics and the visual arts. The table below showed a comparison of Mathematical offerings:

Table 4.1. Selection of Course Offerings/Premiums Granted in Mathematics in the 1860-1865 Catalogues

Subject	Saint Mary’s Academy	University of Notre Dame du Lac
Mathematics	Algebra Geometry Book-Keeping Arithmetic	Algebra Geometry Book-Keeping Arithmetic Surveying Trigonometry Conic Sections

Source: Information gathered from fifth through the eighth catalogues in Catalogues of St. Mary’s Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880; Saint Mary’s College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary’s College Archive, Notre Dame, IN.

While both Saint Mary’s and Notre Dame offered Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and Book-Keeping, Notre Dame offered other advanced maths as well as the practical training for surveying. This difference may be attributed to the masculinization of the profession of surveying and represented a real gendered difference in work opportunities after schooling.

⁵ “Twentieth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Notre Dame Indiana for the Academic Year 1863-1864,” *Notre Dame Annual Catalogues or Bulletins, 1850 - 1914*: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN, http://archives.nd.edu/bulletin/AC_20.pdf. Under “Course of Studies.”

⁶ Anna Shannon McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness: Life and Letters of Mother Angela Gillespie, C.S.C., 1824-1887, American Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Cross*, Centenary Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 6, (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1944), 150-157; M. Georgia Costin, *Priceless Spirit: A History of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1841-1893* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 221. According to her biographer, Gillespie wrote these textbooks with the editing help of her brother, Father Niel Gillespie, in the late 1850s (McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 150). A list of found titles and publishing years is available in the appendices. They are referred to in various sources by the title: “Metropolitan Textbooks,” and in others by the publisher: “the Sadler Series.”

While both establishments offered drawing, Saint Mary's offered painting, artificial flower work, and all types of sewing, a second area of great difference. The next section addressed this discrepancy in ornamental offerings.

The Saint Mary's catalogues reflect the serious academic atmosphere of the academy through the promise that parents would be notified of their daughter's progress throughout the year.⁷ Beginning in the eighth catalogue, the text listed some of the ways it encouraged diligent study in its pupils; methods included: "The table of honor, weekly notes, monthly tickets, semi-annual examinations and bulletins, annual distribution of premiums, medals and crowns, are among the many means made use of to excite the love of study in the minds of pupils, and reward the diligent."⁸ The school leaders tested this "love of study" at the end of each semester by holding exams; public exams took place at the end of the second semester with a commencement following for successful scholars.⁹ In *A Panorama: 1844-1977* by Sister Mary Immaculate Creek, she explained that Notre Dame professors carried out the end-of-term oral examinations needed to advance and eventually graduate from Saint Mary's, demonstrating the expectation of a similar level of rigor in the girls' education as the boys.¹⁰

The writer of the catalogues emphasized the efforts of the academy to ensure the academic success of their students by investing in their liberal departments; the early catalogues

⁷ In the early catalogues, the school shared progress twice yearly, by the thirteenth catalogue parents and guardians received monthly updates.

⁸ "Eighth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana," in *Catalogues of St. Mary's Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary's College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary's College Archive. Notre Dame, IN, 5.

⁹ "Fifth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana," in *Catalogues of St. Mary's Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary's College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary's College Archive. Notre Dame, IN, 6.

¹⁰ Helen Creek, *A Panorama: 1844-1977, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1977), 24.

mentioned multiple times the strength of the academy's science department. The eighth catalogue explained that "The Scientific Departments receive most careful attention. Scientific literary lectures were given through the year by skillful professors from the University of Notre Dame."¹¹ The early catalogues also stressed that the school possessed "a fine Laboratory," "choice and extensive Herbariums," and "a large and carefully selected Library."¹² The leaders of Saint Mary's invested money in the girls' science facilities, and professors from Notre Dame guest lectured at the institution; these details suggest a similar liberal curriculum at these brother and sisters schools, and demonstrate that the leaders held high academic expectations for the girls. These details also underscore the gender-neutral value placed on the liberal education of the pupils of the Congregation of the Holy Cross.

Course Offerings at the Academy: Ornamental Studies

Academic courses at American girls' academies ranged from the liberal studies, including English, math, the humanities, and the sciences, to the "ornamental studies." The ornamental studies included areas such as fancy needlework, the fine arts, music, and the French language. The ornamental studies held value to many of the various cultures of womanhood, and so Protestant and Catholic girls' schools alike provided for these subjects; proficiency in these areas served several purposes for middle- and upper-class girls. In her article, "Ornamental Music and Southern Belles at the Nashville Female Academy, 1816-1861," Erica Joy Rumbley investigated the value of a musical ornamental education to southern elite women. She explained that they

¹¹ "Eighth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy," 1.

¹² "Prospectus of Saint Mary's Academy," in *Catalogues of St. Mary's Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary's College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary's College Archive. Notre Dame, IN, 1. I presume this is the sixth catalogue; please see *Appendix A: A Note on the Catalogues* for further discussion.

“offered families an opportunity to provide their daughters with academic and, perhaps more importantly, social training...Such training was important for both middle- and upper-class students, and musical ability, especially proficiency on the piano, was an important marker of social status.”¹³ For southern girls, a strong ornamental education reflected cultural markers of status for women, particularly for upper-class girls, and made them more attractive for marriage. These subject areas, along with proper social behavior and etiquette, combined to give a girl the quality of “refinement.” Young women above a certain social class displayed their refinement, an abstract quality, by the possession of certain abilities; parents expected the abilities encompassed by the subject areas listed above to be developed during the course of a girl’s education.

While some nineteenth century women’s educational reformers rallied against academies that only focused on the ornamental studies, frequently to the detriment of the liberal studies, middle- and upper-class Americans still expected that girls would take ornamental courses. The famous Protestant educational reformer Catharine Beecher sought to reconceptualize ornamental education by arguing that women achieved true refinement through action and understanding, thus re-centering the language of refinement in both the intellectual life and the domestic work of women. Beecher’s utilization of the language of womanhood and refinement to promote girls’ education illustrated the power dynamics of gendered language. Sklar noted that Beecher argued that “parents were misguided...in seeking only the veneer of refinement for their daughters rather than the real understanding that creates genuine refinement.”¹⁴ Beecher used the language

¹³ Erica Joy Rumbley, “Ornamental Music and Southern Belles at the Nashville Female Academy, 1816-1861,” *American Music* 33, no. 2 (2015): 221, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/americanmusic.33.2.0219>

¹⁴ Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: Norton, 1976), 76.

of refinement to shift the focus and understanding of the purpose of girls' education; even so, her schools still included the content areas needed for an ornamental education.

Parents sending their girls to an institution like Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary expected their daughters to learn ornamental arts alongside liberal studies.¹⁵ Solomon explained the ameliorating position of Protestant women's educators in the antebellum period, saying: "These pioneering instructors attempted to balance their aspirations for students with society's claim of the traditional female sphere."¹⁶ This complicated position also existed for the Catholic educators at Saint Mary's pushing for girls' education. The sisters needed to not only appeal to the dominant cultural sensibilities of parents and patrons, but also to fill a real need for ornamental skills in a religious and real-world context. The writers of the catalogues balanced the expressions of academic rigor explored in the section above with pacifying statements appealing to popular ideas of femininity and domesticity. The seventh catalogue explained: "The routine of instruction combines the solidity of scientific and literary pursuits with those lighter, more graceful, and more refining accomplishments which throw a charm over domestic life, and contribute so essentially to elevate the tone of society at large."¹⁷ The writers emphasized "refining accomplishments" in the catalogues through the promotion of the ornamental studies for the girls as well. The writer pushed the boundaries of these accomplishments, mentioning not just their value in domestic life, but also their value for broader society.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁶ Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 25.

¹⁷ "Seventh Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana," in *Catalogues of St. Mary's Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary's College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary's College Archive. Notre Dame, IN.

This was not just fanciful writing, however. Though the ornamentals were often associated with women’s refinement, in her article “A Means of Honorable Support: Art and Music in Women’s Education in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” Margaret Nash argued that the gendered understanding of the term “ornamental” must be expanded by historians. She contended that parents encouraged both daughters *and* sons to take up the ornamental arts. As seen from *Table 4.2* below, both Notre Dame and Saint Mary’s offered ornamental subjects, though unevenly.

Table 4.2: Selection of Course Offerings/Premiums Granted in the Ornamental Arts in the 1860-1865 Catalogues

Subject	Saint Mary’s Academy	University of Notre Dame du Lac
Arts	Painting (Watercolor and Oils) Drawing Artificial Flowers Embroidery Plain Needle Work	Drawing
Music	Vocal Choir and Individual Piano Guitar Harp Thorough Bass	Piano Instrumental Music Piano Violin Flute Sax Brass
Other	Dancing	

Source: Information gathered from the fifth through the eighth catalogues in Catalogues of St. Mary’s Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880: Saint Mary’s College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary’s College Archive, Notre Dame, IN.

While Notre Dame and Saint Mary’s offered drawing courses, Saint Mary’s additionally offered painting, artificial flower work, embroidery, and needle work as part of their visual and practical arts. Both schools offered instrumental music, specifically piano; the other instruments offered by the institutions varied by gender, however, with Saint Mary’s offering guitar and harp and Notre Dame offering violin, flute, and sax brass. Saint Mary’s also offered specific instruction in thorough bass. Additionally, Saint Mary’s required group instruction in music, which will be further discussed below, and encouraged vocal music as well. Saint Mary’s larger course

offerings and distribution of premiums in the ornamental arts pointed to a stronger emphasis on these subjects than at Notre Dame.

Although middle- and upper-class culture marked the female acquisition of these skills as signs of status and privilege, Nash also wrote that musical and artistic ability also offered some women employment opportunities in the nineteenth century. Schools often employed middle-class women who needed a source of income as music and art instructors.¹⁸ This was certainly the case at Saint Mary's Academy. Since its founding, the establishment employed lay women as music and art teachers when teaching sisters available did not have the appropriate skill sets. The Redman women illustrated this. When Mother Angela first took over the institution, she employed a widowed friend named Harriet Redman Lilly, along with the woman's mother, also widowed, only referred to in sources as Mrs. Redman. These two highly skilled musicians taught and lived at the school. Lilly eventually joined the sisterhood, becoming Mother Elizabeth.¹⁹

Additionally, the studies of ornamental education developed skills that would have been valued and vital to Catholic worship and culture at this time. While Nash recognizes that ornamental curriculums allowed women a means of income that might have given these studies value for women apart from men, she also examined the mid-nineteenth century promotion of art and music among Protestant educators as a response to Catholic immigration, without examining the Catholic educational relationship to these topics. The Catholic religion celebrated and

¹⁸ Margaret A. Nash, "A Means of Honorable Support: Art and Music in Women's Education in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2013): 47-51, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24481663>.

¹⁹ Lilly eventually became Mother Superior while Gillespie served during the war. Please see later chapters about Mother Angela's war work. Interestingly, Lilly's children attended Saint Mary's and Notre Dame and both children grew up to join the Congregation of the Holy Cross as well (Creek, *A Panorama*, 21 and footnote 3 on page 18; McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 104; Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years: From the Annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1855-1905* (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1905), 68).

promoted art and music. Catholic women's needlework provided altar cloths and holy vestments. Catholic women and men contributed to the music used throughout the mass. Catholic women, both religious and lay, crafted rosaries, icons, and art pieces that aided in worship, and thus these skills and the development of them held religious value for Catholic women and men. Catholic religious women also harnessed this religious value as a source of income. Because of the structure of the hierarchy of the Congregation of the Holy Cross in the United States, the sisters did not always control their own money and often it went toward projects taking place at Notre Dame. This left the sisters looking for additional streams of income. They sold their needle crafts and art as one way to earn money.²⁰

The catalogues listed classes in drawing and painting in both watercolors and oil every year of the decade. Leaders added additional options for the students in Artificial Flower Lessons as well as Artificial Fruit and Leatherwork; these courses appeared in the eleventh catalogue for \$15 each. In the fifth and sixth catalogue, the academy offered Dancing and Calisthenics, but no subsequent catalogues listed these courses.²¹ Across the decade, the curriculum also included sewing and needlework. Teachers instructed students in plain and "every variety of fancy and ornamental needlework."²² While some reformers downplayed the value of ornamental arts for serious scholars, the leaders at Saint Mary's Academy recognized that the culture of the Church valued and needed these skills, and their pupils could provide this work and contribute in this way. The later catalogues of the decade reflected just how much

²⁰ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 134.

²¹ "Fifth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana," 5; "Prospectus of Saint Mary's Academy," 5.

²² "Seventh Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana," 5.

Mother Angela valued the visual arts, highlighting how she expanded the program. Chapter six discussed this.

In the catalogue descriptions of Saint Mary's prized music department, the issue of ornamental studies' perception as a frivolous course of study is addressed. The introductory paragraphs bragged about Saint Mary's well-known music department saying: "Its delightful position, affording every physical and mental advantage, has already made St. Mary's favorably known in the Northwestern, Southern, and Eastern States."²³ The music department seemed to be regionally, if not nationally, recognized as the academy grew. Again, the school offered private lessons to the girls for a fee including piano, harp, guitar, and organ, as well as private vocal lessons and lessons in playing thorough bass. In addition, the girls had general group instruction in music three times a week.

In the seventh catalogue, an additional section assured parents and guardians that leaders took the music program more seriously than just a sign of good breeding. The catalogue stressed that music served valuable religious purposes and that the growing program provided an education that was, "not, in this case, a merely superficial acquirement, but while it arouses the keen sensibilities by its melodies, it also awakens the higher mental faculties to the observation of the multitudinous harmonies attuned by Nature on every side."²⁴ This framing of the music program as more than "merely superficial" indicated Mother Angela's awareness of the criticisms of ornamental education for the sake of status or at the detriment of the liberal studies. She defended the music program in the catalogues, presenting music as a serious subject, useful both in personal and religious life. This defense of the music program directly addressed popular

²³ "Fifth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy," 1.

²⁴ "Seventh Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy," 4.

conceptions and criticisms surrounding girls' ornamental education. Although Notre Dame offered a Philharmonic Society, the school offered no apology for the boys' program. The authors of the Notre Dame catalogue stated simply that the added study of music was "to give dignity and spirit, by their performances, to the celebration of our Religious, National, and Literary Festivals."²⁵ This difference in tone reflected differing gendered concerns; however, both programs stressed the importance of music in public worship and performance.

The curricular choices and the language surrounding these choices in the early catalogues reflect gendered debates and concerns surrounding girls' schooling. The leaders of Saint Mary's Academy strove to provide their students with an education on par with that of the male students at Notre Dame, but also balanced this education with cultural gendered considerations, ideologies, and opportunities. The final section in this chapter examined the rules of the institution and their gendered implications.

Rules of the Academy

Familial language appeared in the catalogues as a rhetorical device to describe the activities and rules of the academy. In a section on the discipline of the institution, the catalogue explained that "Pupils become the children of the House, the Sisters watching over their best interests with the solicitude of mothers."²⁶ Despite the choice that nuns made to remain unmarried, without children, and to work, living lives that existed very much outside of the norms of mainstream American society in the mid-nineteenth century, the catalogues still sought

²⁵ "Twentieth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Notre Dame Indiana," 19.

²⁶ "Eleventh Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana," in *Catalogues of St. Mary's Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary's College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary's College Archive. Notre Dame, IN, 5.

to characterize the female relationships of teachers and pupils in the acceptable terms of motherhood and domestic life. In his article, “Reflections on Historical Catholic Women,” James Kenneally argued that the nuns’ independence threatened some men and thus familial language downplayed the irregular feminine norms of nuns. This language appeared again in rules about relationships between the girls. One rule explained: “general kindness and cordiality should be the bond that unites all in one family circle.”²⁷ An additional rule encouraged students to welcome newcomers to the institution and to make them feel at home immediately. The language of home and family removed the public nature of school and education and reframed it as a private, domestic pursuit firmly within the realm of acceptable womanhood. Especially at its founding and in its early years, the school’s almost exclusively female environment, with female students, teachers, administrators, and workers of a minority religion, may well have been viewed as an oddity at best for others in the region. There are passing accounts of concern over the Know-Nothing Party in Indiana being hostile to the growing Catholic community in the area.²⁸ Along with the language of domesticity and spheres addressing the girls’ curriculum above, normalizing the atmosphere of the institution in the language of family and encouraging a motherly ideal of the sisters placed the all-female school ideologically well within the realm of the appropriate, private sphere.²⁹

For comparison, there are only two brief uses of familial language in Notre Dame’s catalogues. One passage vaguely mentioned the “paternal care” given; this language seemed to

²⁷ “Tenth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary’s Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana,” in *Catalogues of St. Mary’s Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary’s College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary’s College Archive. Notre Dame, IN, 6.

²⁸ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 120.

²⁹ James Kenneally, “Reflections on Historical Catholic Women,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 5, no. 3/4, Women in the Catholic Community (Summer-Fall 1986): 412, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25153774>.

refer to all the professors and religious men the boys would encounter during their education. The second mention sought to recharacterize the work of the nuns who ran the infirmary at Notre Dame. The catalogue reassured parents that sick pupils “are immediately transferred to the apartments of the Infirmary, where they are attended and nursed, with devoted care, by experienced Sisters, who never suffer them to be alone, but strive to supply the place of their absent mothers.”³⁰ While Catholicism utilized the language of family in its theologies and in its titles of religious people, the Notre Dame catalogues did not demand the same type of familial language as the girls’ school did, except to characterize the nuns’ independent work as nurses.

Conclusions

By couching the educational goals of the institution in the gendered language of spheres and domesticity, the academy’s leaders offered an expansion of work and learning opportunities for their students, while still preparing them for the cultural realities of popular gender ideologies. Despite offering a rigorous education on par with their brother school at Notre Dame, the leaders of Saint Mary’s used language mindful of the debates surrounding girls’ education. Whatever skills and knowledge the students gained at Saint Mary’s, and however the girls chose to use these in their lives post-graduation, the school’s leaders and pupils could claim the utmost propriety in middle-class gender frameworks based upon the academy’s presentation in the catalogues. This use of gendered language continued in the catalogues through the Reconstruction and post-Civil War years, but with notable shifts. The next chapter offered an overview of changes in the work of women brought on by the Civil War and Reconstruction. Chapter six examined the later catalogues of the decade within this context.

³⁰ “Twentieth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Notre Dame Indiana,” 9.

Chapter 5

Separation of Spheres: Changing Conceptions of Gender during the Civil War and the Reconstruction Period

This chapter provided an overview of the variety of ways that the Civil War and its fallout altered both women's work and subsequently altered the gendered framework and language of spheres along with it to accommodate these changes. The first section of this chapter gave a sampling of the ways middle-class white women participated in the war and took on expanded public roles and how these roles continued to be framed in the language of spheres and domesticity. The next section detailed the war work of the Sisters of the Holy Cross both on and off campus. The third section provided a continuation of these ideas during Reconstruction, both in the broader United States and more specifically at Saint Mary's Academy. This section detailed some of the issues these tensions raised in discussions around women's education.

Women's Civil War Work and The Language of Spheres

The framework of spheres was never a clean or concrete barrier in middle-class society, and with the advent of the Civil War, the permeability of private and public became more apparent. When the war broke out in 1861, the language of spheres began to stretch in order to rally women's patriotism. In Nina Silber's *Gender and the Sectional Conflict*, she argued that the rhetoric of the Civil War "took on a distinctive gender framework that reflected historically

specific circumstances...of an idealized and separate domestic sphere.”¹ The wartime language on both sides of the conflict utilized the ideology of spheres to compel women to perform acts of patriotism and used gendered rhetoric in framing war goals.² In the antebellum period women, as the prescribed keepers of virtue and guardians of the home and families, had already begun to use these ideas to move into certain public spaces.³ The Civil War accelerated this movement of the domestic sphere into the public realm. Popular discussion framed the very notion of sending husbands and sons into battle as the ultimate act of female patriotism—women suppressed their natural desire to protect the family and home by sending loved ones to war.⁴

In Lisa Tendrich Frank and LeeAnn Whites’ collection of essays, *Household War: How Americans Lived and Fought the Civil War*, the authors make the argument that the Civil War should be understood as a household war. Rather than viewing American women’s participation in the war as ancillary or as isolated to their roles as nurses or spies, the authors argued that “in all cases, the lines between Battlefield and Homefront became blurred, and households increasingly had to deal with the realities of War time including deprivation, destruction, and invasion.”⁵ In these essays they framed domestic supply lines, letters of emotional support to soldiers, letters to public officials on behalf of themselves and fighting family members, dealing with household occupation and deprivation, and the physical movement of women as part of the

¹ Nina Silber, *Gender and the Sectional Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), xiii.

² *Ibid.*, xiii.

³ E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 24.

⁴ Nina Silber, *Gender and the Sectional Conflict*, 39.

⁵ Lisa Tendrich Frank and LeeAnn Whites, eds., introduction to *Household War: How Americans Lived and Fought the Civil War*, Uncivil Wars Series (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2020), n.p., <http://search.ebscohost.com.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=2231052&site=ehost-live>.

course of the war. Politicians and writers framed these activities, alongside more obvious war efforts, through the language of domesticity and spheres, as women performing their natural care-giving work for their fighting, displaced, deprived, and occupied families.⁶

In her essay “‘Now I can Bear my Ills Patiently’: The Expanding Realm of Wisconsin Households during the Civil War” Julie A. Mujic discussed the importance of domestic supply lines in sustaining soldiers. In some states, political figures published decrees directly asking women to help support their troops. Women responded by organizing relief and aid societies, as well as working individually to gather supplies for troops. These societies lobbied for goods and money to support local troops and military hospitals, while individuals answered family members’ pleas in personal letters by supplying clothing, bedding, medical supplies, reading materials, food, shoes, and delicacies. Shipping these goods required money to be raised, and women lobbied politicians for state and local funds.⁷

As the war dragged on however, the boundaries of the private sphere expanded to accommodate the need for women’s very public wartime work. The need for labor and support trumped previous notions of gender propriety as women served on the battlefields as nurses and doctors, as collectors and distributors of war goods, as managers of family properties and businesses, and as operators and workers in factories among other public work.⁸ In letters women wrote to inquire after positions in hospitals caring for the sick and wounded, they often

⁶ Ibid., n.p.

⁷ Julie A. Mujic, “‘Now I can Bear my Ills Patiently’: The Expanding Realm of Wisconsin Households during the Civil War” in *Household War: How Americans Lived and Fought the Civil War*, Uncivil Wars Series, Lisa Tendrich Frank and LeeAnn Whites, eds. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2020), n.p., <http://search.ebscohost.com.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=2231052&site=ehost-live>.

⁸ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 45.

employed the language of spheres as part of their justifications for moving into this often-waged work. In her study, Mujic explained:

Women who applied to serve as nurses believe they could reunite or even recreate a household near the battlefield. Applications for nursing positions came from all corners of the state, from all ages, from all marital statuses, and from all stages of emotional strain due to the war. The letters to the governor in this category spoke of duty, gender, honor, and courage, but their constant refrain was that of family.⁹

It was long the prerogative of American women to fulfill the duty of nursing family members back to health after sickness or injury. As war separated families and spread them across the United States, women pursued this nursing work, previously confined to the home, and performed it in hospitals, as an extension of their domestic duties. The same was true for women who took over family businesses, did administrative and lobbying work to support local troops and families, and moved into wage work vacated by soldiers.

The Civil War Work of the Sisters of the Congregation of the Holy Cross

The sisters at Saint Mary's Academy directly participated in these Civil War redefinitions of what constituted domestic concerns. Only six months after the start of the Civil War, on October 21, 1861, Father Sorin received an urgent message from the Governor of Indiana, Oliver P. Morton. Morton passed on the pleas of General Ulysses S. Grant, who at the time commanded the Federal troops in Illinois, for sister-nurses to come support the overrun hospitals.¹⁰ Despite her many demands at Saint Mary's, her constant travels throughout the

⁹ Julie A. Mujic "'Now I can Bear my Ills Patiently,'" n.p.

¹⁰ Anna Shannon McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness: Life and Letters of Mother Angela Gillespie, C.S.C., 1824-1887, American Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Cross*, Centenary Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 6, (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1944), 168.

country to help start other Catholic schools, and the hours she spent editing and writing, Mother Angela and five other nuns responded to the call and volunteered as nurses.

In a letter, Father Sorin wrote in impassioned language to support the work of the sisters by citing the appropriateness of their presence in the war. He referred to the members of the Congregation of the Holy Cross serving in the war as “our little army” and cited their service as “consoling news” in “destressing” times. He explained, “we find a gratification in being able to assuage some of [our country’s] sorrows.”¹¹ As he continued in the letter, Fr. Sorin highlighted the precedent of the Sisters of Charity serving bravely in the Crimean War, asking his audience, “why should we be left out of the list? Are we not members of the holy band of the Cross—a company recently formed to meet the chief needs of our time?”¹² Sorin discussed the duty of members of the order to serve others in this crisis, making little apology for the women’s service and instead citing their public work as appropriate and in line with their religious mission. He ended the letter with his biggest affirmation of the appropriateness of the women’s work by claiming the blessing of the Virgin Mary herself.¹³

In addition to providing care for the men in the hospitals, Mother Angela and her crew of nuns set out to completely reshape the way the hospitals were run. The Civil War put Gillespie’s tireless ability to fundraise, institution build, and organize the work of her women to the test. She immediately set new cleanliness, care, and dietary standards for the hospitals under her direction. As the war progressed, somewhere between sixty and eighty Sisters of the Holy Cross served as

¹¹ Fr. Edward Sorin to the Sisters of the Holy Cross, October 22, 1861, Letters to the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 304, University of Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN. <https://archives.nd.edu/circulars/CLP3-1861.pdf>.

¹² *Ibid.*, 305.

¹³ Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years: From the Annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1855-1905* (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1905), 93.

Civil War nurses. Mother Angela worked out special terms for the women who served, and they ran their nursing services quite independently.¹⁴ Cindy Intravartolo explained in her article, “St. Mary’s Goes to War: The Sisters of the Holy Cross as Civil War Nurses,” that the Holy Cross nurses reported “directly to the army surgeon and they were to have entire charge of the hospital and ambulances.”¹⁵ Sister Angela and General Grant contacted one another directly during this time, and her nuns served in multiple hospitals in different cities as well as on hospital steamers. She tirelessly lobbied for goods and money and tapped into her social connections to supply her hospitals. She wrote frequently with the president of the Illinois Central Railroad, William H. Osborn who assured Mother Angela he would get her whatever she needed for the war effort.¹⁶ The Sisters of the Holy Cross, along with many other orders of Catholic sisters, helped shape the future of nursing in the United States during the Civil War and paved the way for nursing to become an acceptable female occupation for American women.¹⁷

As for the sisters who stayed back at the school during the war years, these women doubled up on teaching and domestic duties to compensate for the nuns who left the school to serve. This constituted hardship for the women left to run not only Saint Mary’s Academy and provide support for Notre Dame, but also the numerous other schools and orphanages the Sisters of the Holy Cross had founded in the years since they arrived in the United States. The drain on their numbers did not lessen the amount of work the sisters had to do, and the student

¹⁴ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 162-202.

¹⁵ Cindy Intravartolo, "St. Mary's Goes to War: The Sisters of the Holy Cross as Civil War Nurses," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1998-) 107, no. 3-4 (2014): #, <https://doi.org/10.5406/jillistathistsoc.107.3-4.0370.375>.

¹⁶ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 176.

¹⁷ Peter J. Levin, “Bold Vision: Catholic Sisters and the Creation of American Hospitals,” *Journal of Community Health: New York* 36, no. 3 (June 2011): 343-347, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10900-011-9401-7>.

populations at both Saint Mary's and Notre Dame steadily increased throughout the Civil War.¹⁸ In the last year of the war, 1865, 265 pupils boarded at Saint Mary's; this was the highest enrollment of students to this point.¹⁹ Because of the growing student populations, the nursing salaries of the sisters who served from Saint Mary's paid for the construction of Bertrand Hall, a new academic building on Saint Mary's campus.²⁰ The school also added a music hall in 1865.

The dangers faced by fathers, brothers, families, and beloved teachers during the Civil War surely caused strain on the pupils at Saint Mary's. Girls from all regions of the country attended the academy, including the children of prominent figures such as General William Sherman (his wife, Ella Ewing Sherman, was Mother Angela's cousin).²¹ Having pupils with family members fighting on both sides of the conflict could not have been easy, but the nuns immediately put down sectional tensions that flared among students and emphasized a singular, Catholic identity.²² The increase in numbers from around the United States showed that even with the strain of the war, the Catholic identity of the pupils trumped regional considerations; patron parents valued the protection of this identity along with educational considerations enough to send their girls to Saint Mary's Academy. One source spoke to the unifying and comforting atmosphere of the institution during the war, stating that the post-war years saw an increase of graduates joining the sisterhood.²³

¹⁸ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 203.

¹⁹ Helen Creek, *A Panorama: 1844-1977*, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1977), 31.

²⁰ Construction on Bertrand Hall began in 1861. In 1870-1871 a new building went up on campus modeled after a hotel used as a military hospital that one of the sisters worked at during the war (Monica Wagner, *Benchmarks: Saint Mary's College, How It Grew* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1990), 35).

²¹ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 205.

²² *Ibid.*, 31.

²³ *Sisters of the Holy Cross, A Story of Fifty Years*, 117-118.

Continuing Changes in the Post-War Years

As the Civil War ended and the United States looked to recover and heal in the second part of the decade, women and men had to rediscover and redefine gender roles. The war work undertaken by the average American woman demanded a reconstitution of the “private” sphere and the realm of domesticity. The war drew women in a limited way into the political sphere, as during the war women were encouraged to expand their patriotic views beyond just supporting male relatives to also developing their own support of political parties.²⁴ Women’s voices and work had expanded in very real ways outside of the home. The ending of the institution of slavery left southern women, black and white, building new definitions of womanhood. In her essay, “Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915” Margaret Marsh explained that the conceptions of separate spheres “began to break down after the Civil War.” Women had ventured into the public out of necessity during the war, and in the decades after, both masculinity and femininity shifted to accommodate those changes.²⁵ During the years of Reconstruction unprecedented numbers of women entered the teaching field, filling new positions in freedmen's schools, missionary schools, immigrant settlement projects, and schools in the rapidly expanding West. After the war, women’s organizations abounded, and women’s collegiate education gained more prominent support.

Though the historiography is just beginning to catch up, the work of Catholic nuns across the United States created widespread precedents for non-Catholic women to move into public

²⁴ Nina Silber, *Gender and the Sectional Conflict*, 63-66.

²⁵ Margaret Marsh, “Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity” in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 112-113.

positions after the war.²⁶ In some ways, this shift in gender roles of the broader American culture was just catching up to the spaces already occupied by Catholic religious women in the United States. In his work, *Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America*, Fialka explained: “The fact that hundreds of different orders of sisters could carry out independent missions, working with, working around or working despite the orders of their bishops gave the church a flexible, innovative structure that coped well with the extreme challenges and opportunities in the new nation.”²⁷ Catholic sisters were already entrenched in the American educational, social service, and hospital systems in many towns and cities across the United States as first-wave feminism began to gain steam.

Fialka credited sisters with much of the growth of the American Church and their community activism as part of the reason anti-Catholic sentiment began to fade after the Civil War. He marked the Civil War as a turning point in anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States as soldiers on both sides received nursing care from Catholic sisters in battles across the territory.²⁸ The public work of American nuns, in the Civil War and beyond, provided representation and services to communities and individuals that helped to begin to make space for the wider Catholic community in the United States. Catholic immigration and transatlantic networks of Catholic women swelled the ranks of both the American sisterhood and the Catholic

²⁶ In her book, McAllister told the story of the famous nineteenth century reformer Mary Livermore. Livermore published a book after the war and in it she wrote admiringly of Mother Angela and her sister-nurses (see McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 181).

²⁷ John J. Fialka, *Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), 121-122; Fialka explained: “It gave the Catholic Church a resilience that allowed it to flow over obstacles and an Innovative drive that had it constantly reaching out to new members and collecting arriving immigrants. These are characteristics that many Catholic historians fail to appreciate. They simply baffle most non-Catholics, who continue to view the Church as a monolith” (Ibid., 122).

²⁸ M. Georgia Costin, *Priceless Spirit: A History of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1841-1893* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 195. See Costin’s reproduction of a letter to the Pope only half-way through the war in which Father Moreau credited the Holy Cross sister-nurses with converting over three hundred men through their work.

population of the United States during this period. By the turn of the twentieth century, educated Catholic women managed “some eight hundred hospitals and ten thousand schools, colleges, and universities.”²⁹

Gendered Rhetoric in the Post-War Years

Despite the changing gender norms in the broader country during the Civil War and the restructuring of society that took place during Reconstruction, the rhetoric of domesticity and womanhood persisted, reasserting itself in new ways.³⁰ Some women sought to defend their new public work as appropriate and part of their domestic sphere, while others sought to completely redefine womanhood, intensifying public debates about women’s education, roles, and rights. In Alice Kessler-Harris’ *Women Have Always Worked*, Kessler-Harris spoke of the issues facing middle- and upper-class white women after the Civil War. Women’s wartime work, along with new technologies and declining birth rates in the decades after the war gave women more free time. This coupled with the increase in attendance at women’s academies and colleges in the decades after the war led to dissatisfaction with some of the lived realities of the ideas of spheres.

Women’s organizations started during the war morphed into post-war organizations looking to extend women’s assumed maternal and domestic skills into appropriate public roles for what were considered women’s allotted skills and natural inclinations.³¹ This expansion and movement of women into spaces that had been reserved for men during the early part of the century generated lively public debate about what women should and should not be doing in the post-bellum years. Part of the public rhetoric of the time included concerns that educated women

²⁹ Fialka, *Sisters*, 3.

³⁰ Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 39-49.

³¹ Alice Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked: A Concise History*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 116-129.

would not be interested in marriage, child-rearing, and housekeeping, and this often gave way to commentary about women trying to be too much like men. In the post-war years through the turn of the century, the language of spheres grew and stretched to include ideas of “social housekeeping” which utilized the spheres’ ideas of women as moral guardians, keepers of family life, nurtures of children, and consumers. This expansion allowed women to make their way into public organizations and helping professions while still maintaining much of the gendered rhetoric and ideas popularized before the war.³² As the decade and century moved on, Catholic women participated in these discussions and used popular rhetoric for their stances as well. The following section examined and analyzed changes in the Saint Mary’s Academy Catalogues in the second part of the decade.

³² Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked*, 109-146.

Chapter 6

Changes in the Saint Mary's Academy Catalogues in the Latter Half of the 1860s

This chapter provided analysis of the Saint Mary's Academy Catalogues beginning after the Civil War, through the end of the decade. The first section looked at excerpts from the catalogues commenting on popular fears that too much education would ruin women for domestic life. The second and third sections looked at changes and continuity in the liberal and ornamental studies departments at the school. The subtle changes in language and the public focus of the catalogues demonstrated changing concerns and opportunities for the students at the institution.

Educational Concerns about Domesticity

In the expanded thirteenth catalogue, issued for circulation during the 1868-1869 school year, the writers of the catalogues continued giving reassurances to parents that the academy would prepare their girls for assumed future roles as wives and mothers. The excerpt below continued to emphasize the propriety of the students' education, directly addressing the criticisms of women's education that persisted even after the war:¹ "It is often a subject of reproach, as well as regret, that young ladies, after passing many years at school—well instructed

¹ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 44.

in the accomplishments and sciences of the age—are woefully deficient in those household duties which undoubtedly form the most important part of a woman's peculiar province.”² The writers here explicitly mention the tension that arose from the concerns of the age of having highly educated women destined for a private life in the home.

The authors of the catalogues go on to acknowledge this tension in detail in this section addressing the fear that educated girls would not have the skills necessary, or perhaps even the desire, to become homemakers. The administrators wrote:

The young lady at school is not placed in the proper position for successful practice of those duties, yet much can be done toward preparing her for them, and guarding her against the danger of forming tastes and habits tending to unfit her for her allotted sphere—rendering its duties irksome and repulsive. For this purpose, oral instruction in the art of domestic economy in all its branches, practical illustration in the kitchen, bakery and dairy of the Institution, with reference, for example, to the selection of meat, vegetables, and other articles of food and their preparation for the table, will be given in the Senior Department, in order to impress, theoretically at least, the importance of these duties on the minds of the pupils.³

This passage directly confronted fears that a liberal education would get in the way of the skills required for the “household duties” of “a woman’s peculiar province.” Despite the education and role models the school presented, leaders carefully emphasized the importance of traditional ideas about womanhood. These writers reassured parents that educators would prepare their girls for the practical duties of wife and homemaker, despite boarding at the school. Leaders offered instruction in the domestic arts and sciences, and in 1869 Mother Angela gifted her senior

² “Thirteenth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary’s Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana,” in *Catalogues of St. Mary’s Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary’s College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary’s College Archive. Notre Dame, IN, 6.

³ *Ibid.*, 6.

students with a book entitled, *The Practical Housekeeper* for Christmas.⁴ Though the authors listed here a woman's "allotted sphere" as the "most important" consideration, other comments in these later catalogues reveal expanded ideas and understandings about what constituted appropriate training for women's work.⁵

As an increasing number of women entered higher education after the Civil War decade, Domestic Arts or Home Economics departments began forming at many colleges, offering homemaking as a serious course of study for women. Colleges across the country, but particularly in the Midwest and West began offering these avenues for women during the latter years of the nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. Growing from ideas about domestic science in the mid-nineteenth century, home economics departments that appeared at the turn of the century sought to elevate women's work in the home to an educationally sanctioned mission. These departments allowed women to seek college degrees without threatening any popular ideas about gender and spheres.⁶

⁴ Notre Dame Scholastic, 1867 - 2011: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN, 1, no. 20 (Jan. 18, 1868): 8, <http://archives.nd.edu/Scholastic/>.http://archives.nd.edu/Scholastic/VOL_0001/VOL_0001_ISSUE_0020.pdf.

⁵ Once again, this analysis was a case study. The ideas and views of Catholic women varied greatly in the US at this time, especially with considerations of region, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, order, educational background, and career. A good short study on this topic is: James Kenneally, "Reflections on Historical Catholic Women," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 5, no. 3/4, Women in the Catholic Community (Summer-Fall 1986): 411-418, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25153774>.

⁶ Alice Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked: A Concise History*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 45.

In coeducational colleges these usually all-female departments struggled for funding and respect,⁷ however at an all-women's institution like Saint Mary's Academy,⁸ preparing students for successful lives as home managers had been part of the general curriculum since the school's founding. The school introduced a home economics course of study officially in 1907, but the school had always taught and encouraged domestic skills alongside academic skills. In an 1869 article from the Chicago Tribune, a reporter praised Saint Mary's domestic training for its students claiming these subjects as the "crowning department of the institution."⁹ This statement seemed a bit hyperbolic, and instead more of a thinly veiled opinion of the author. While this article praised Saint Mary's, the author's commentary and his omissions in his write-up illustrated ideas of feminine educational propriety. He began his praise of the school by lamenting that the domestic arts are "known to...few ladies of the present day."¹⁰ This reporter mostly focused on the domestic arts, the music, and the visual arts programs. He reported that five graduating students received premiums for Domestic Economy, and which students at the

⁷ In Maresi Nerad's case study of the development of the home economics department at UC Berkeley, *The Academic Kitchen: A Social History of Gender Stratification at the University of California, Berkeley*, she provided an in-depth look at the struggles that the leaders of the all-female home economics departments faced in coeducational institutions; struggles that included fights for adequate facilities, funding, and respect from male-led institutions. Nerad's gendered examination of the department at Berkeley pushed for a more nuanced understanding of home economics departments; she addressed the wide-ranging goals of both university administrators and the women who founded, maintained, and received their educations in these all-female departments. (Maresi Nerad, *The Academic Kitchen: A Social History of Gender Stratification at the University of California, Berkeley* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999)).

⁸ Saint Mary's Academy officially changed its name to Saint Mary's College in 1903, despite its ability to grant degrees since 1855. (Helen Creek, *A Panorama: 1844-1977, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1977), 46).

⁹ "Educational: Closing Exercises at St. Mary's Female Academy. Commencement at Notre Dame College. Exercises at Dearborn Seminary. St. Mary's Academy," *Chicago Tribune* (1860-1872), June 26, 1869, <http://libproxy.library.wmich.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/historical-newspapers/educational/docview/180336366/se-2?accountid=15099>. The July 3, 1869 issue of *The Scholastic* also reproduced this article on page 342.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, n.p.

school received premiums for “amiable, polite and correct deportment,” and plain sewing, but he failed to mention any of the premiums or awards proudly granted for any of the solid studies.

The table below showed the other premiums granted to the graduating students, ignored by the reporter.

Table 6.1: First Premiums Granted to Students Graduating in 1869

	Student 1	Student 2	Students 3 and 4*	Student 5	Student 6	Total Premiums
Maths	Geometry Trigonometry	Geometry	Geometry	Geometry	Geometry	7
Sciences	Mental Philosophy Geology Botany	Mental Philosophy Geology Botany Physiology	Mental Philosophy Geology Botany	Mental Philosophy Geology Botany Physiology	Mental Philosophy Geology Botany Physiology	21
English	Logic Literature Elocution Composition	Logic Literature Elocution Composition	Logic Literature Elocution Composition	Logic Literature	Logic Literature	20
Languages	French Grammar Translation and Conversation	German	French Translation and Conversation	French	French	7
Music	Vocal Exercises Instrumental Music	Theoretical Music	Instrumental Music	Theoretical Music		5
Religion			Christian Doctrine	Christian Doctrine		2
Domestic Economy	Domestic Economy	Domestic Economy	Domestic Economy		Domestic Economy	4

Source: Data gathered from “Fourteenth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary’s Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana,” in Catalogues of St. Mary’s Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880: Saint Mary’s College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary’s College Archive. Notre Dame, IN.

*Students 3 and 4 were presumably twin sisters listed together in the premiums section.

While leaders always held training intelligent, well-rounded mothers and wives as an explicit goal, reports like this one emphasizing the domestic and ornamental arts downplay the practical and scholarly education the girls also received at St. Mary’s. The graduating students earned an impressive forty-one premiums in just the scientific and English branches, and an additional fourteen premiums in math, religion, and languages; these awards attested to the continuing liberal focus of the institution.

The student magazine, *The Scholastic*, produced and edited by Notre Dame students under the supervision of Notre Dame staff, which began in 1867, provided examples of the tensions and debates surrounding the issue of women's education. Students, professors, and guest writers supplied the articles, and the magazine almost always dedicated the last few pages of each issue to both information about happenings on Saint Mary's campus, as well as work submitted by Saint Mary's student contributors. In issues from the end of the decade, authors wrote about varying opinions and views surrounding girls' and women's roles.

In a piece written by a male Notre Dame student in 1867, the student commented on Saint Mary's debate club. He belittles the club's debates comparing the noise of the girls' discussion to katydid bugs and boldly states, "we believe that woman's province is in the quiet of the home circle, and that the ambition to vote, and to perform masculine duties, robs woman and home of their most sacred rights."¹¹ In what seemed almost a direct response to these comments (though perhaps not, as it appeared in an issue some months later), a Saint Mary's student responded in a lengthy opinion piece to the charges of the Notre Dame student. She reproached his ideas saying,

The subject of woman's appropriate sphere, is one which may suggest to the minds of many, a picture at once absurd, ridiculous, and disgusting. Those persons, especially, who are opposed to the enfranchisement of woman, from the bonds which fetter her down to the level of no higher thoughts than those of eating, drinking, and dressing; entertain the idea that, if you speak of woman as quite degraded in this position, that, you must certainly wish to see her wear the Bloomers, be "strong-minded," travel through the country, making bold speeches about the superiority of woman's mental powers; her right to rule creation; to question antiquity, and do many other nonsensical things; but these good people labor under a mistake... Woman as mother, governess, teacher, or friend, has the care and training of children who are in future to fill the offices of our government, make our laws, negotiate commerce, and to mould national character. According to the

¹¹ *Notre Dame Scholastic*, 1867 - 2011: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN, 1, no. 2 (Sep. 14, 1867): 3, http://archives.nd.edu/Scholastic/VOL_0001/VOL_0001_ISSUE_0002.pdf.

education she has received, she will impart. The same doctrine she has embraced, she will inculcate.¹²

In these passages, the author argued for a middle ground in the disputes on women's rights and education by presenting and then logically dismissing the extremes. She used the ideas of spheres, focusing on motherhood and child-rearing, as a pacifying foil for the listed offensive qualities of a caricatured radical feminist. Though she stood firmly against the notion of a private life where women fritter away time "eating, drinking, and dressing," her defense of women's education and work manifested itself in familial language. Her list of other important roles of women besides mother included feminized professions (education and governess); her argument seemed to begin to take on the tone of social housekeeping, a term and set of ideas eventually popularized around the turn of the century.

Leaders and students at Saint Mary's and Notre Dame were obviously aware of the popular concern that women's education compromised their ability to be good wives, mothers, and homemakers. The passages addressing these concerns from not only the catalogues, but also the student newspapers show the tensions surrounding the issue. Writers wielded the language and ideology of spheres to both defend and criticize Saint Mary's Academy. Despite these concerns, the school and its leaders continued to make improvements in their academic departments to help prepare their pupils for the changing American cultural landscape. In the next sections, changes and continuity in the language about both the liberal (at this point frequently referred to as the "solid" subjects) and ornamental departments.

¹² *Notre Dame Scholastic*, 1867 - 2011: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN, 1, no. 25 (Sep. 14, 1867): 6-8, http://archives.nd.edu/Scholastic/VOL_0001/VOL_0001_ISSUE_0025.pdf.

The Solid Studies in the Post-War Years

While the American public discourse continued to catch up with the concept of women applying their skills in the public realm, the Sisters of the Holy Cross carried on with their mission of providing an education to Catholic girls that would prepare them for educated motherhood, lay work, or the sisterhood. The later catalogues of the decade explained the liberal studies course of the school in much more detail. Students needed to board for seven years to complete a full course of study. The girls began in the primary department, spent four years in the senior department and for students to complete the full classical course of study, they needed additional years.

Although leaders expected girls to complete the regular course of seven years, the catalogue assured readers that students could also specialize their course of study. The catalogue promised its girls that “every possible facility will be afforded to those students who find it desirable to devote their whole attention to single branches, or to a limited number selected with some special reference, either in continuing favorite studies or to fit themselves for future occupation.”¹³ Even if students only utilized these skills in unpaid positions or in paid positions prior to marriage or because of widowhood, the catalogue included the possibility of the public use of students’ studies. The explicit mention here that some young women would use their education to prepare for occupations subtly acknowledged changing norms. The nursing work of the nuns, along with their teaching and social services work, gave the girls very concrete examples of how women could use their education in the public realm. This text addressing girls’ potential pursuit of specific fields in their post-graduation plans acknowledged the expanding

¹³ “Thirteenth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary’s Academy,” 4.

work options available to lay women as the decade wore on, and, of course, women could always choose the ever-expanding sisterhood, which continued to grow during this period.

A new emphasis on writing and public speaking appeared in the later catalogues as well. As a single-sex institution, Saint Mary's girls read at weekly public meetings, learned from women, attended an establishment run and administered by women, and bore witness to highly educated women coming to and from campus amid running facilities around the country. The expanded thirteenth catalogue placed a new stress on the development of the girls' voices. This emphasis on speaking and expression pointed to newly available careers in writing and editing opened to women during and after the Civil War.¹⁴ The catalogue's text stated, "Great attention is given to Rhetorical Exercises, Letter Writing and other forms of Composition...The ability to read aloud, not only intelligibly and with correctness, but with that elegance and expressive power which brings out the full force and beauty of the subject is a rare and precious accomplishment." This section then continued: "Compositions are required from all the pupils every week. A certain number of the best are selected to be read aloud at the Weekly Academic Re-union."¹⁵ The catalogue employed language that encouraged the girls of the academy to develop their abilities to express themselves both in the school as a public space and privately as influencers.

This emphasis on women's voices and influence appeared in additional sections of the catalogue as well. While the writers continued to reassure parents that their daughters would still learn feminine propriety at the institution, the characterization of that propriety shifted. They wrote: "Knowing that the charm of what is properly termed good breeding is the aggregate habits

¹⁴ Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 35-37.

¹⁵ "Thirteenth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy," 4.

acquired in youth, the teachers fail not, on all occasions, to point out and correct their faults against polite, lady-like deportment... Frequent public instructions are given in politeness and etiquette.” This cultivation of “lady-like deportment,” shifted, however, from only an emphasis on silence and obedience in the rules section of previous catalogues,¹⁶ to an additional explanation that polite women could also use their “good breeding” to “think for themselves and to express their ideas modestly, clearly and frankly, and...to use their resources of knowledge, reason, and wit with good sense and good taste.”¹⁷ The writers tempered the language of domesticity and spheres by subtly shifting the language about appropriate feminine behavior to include women’s thoughts, opinions, and education; this language pointed to expanding and more active public roles for women.

The encouragement of the students’ expression received a lighthearted reinforcement in an 1867 issue of *The Scholastic*. In a note from Saint Mary’s Academy, a writer described an encounter with Father Sorin in which he “informed the young ladies that they did not make enough noise in their recreations. He told them that they should be more energetic and lively in their pastimes: that they should be in earnest at whatever they were engaged.”¹⁸ The author then continued: “He impressed upon the young ladies the fact that gravity, melancholy, solemnity of manner and carriage, are quite out of keeping with their age,” and then quoted Fr. Sorin as advising the girls that “Life, animation, should mark everything you undertake.”¹⁹ This spirit of

¹⁶ “Tenth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary’s Academy: Notre Dame, Indiana,” in *Catalogues of St. Mary’s Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*: Saint Mary’s College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary’s College Archive. Notre Dame, IN. 6-7.

¹⁷ “Thirteenth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary’s Academy,” 6.

¹⁸ *Notre Dame Scholastic*, 1867 - 2011: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN, 1, no. 6 (Oct. 12, 1867): 1, http://archives.nd.edu/Scholastic/VOL_0001/VOL_0001_ISSUE_0006.pdf

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

expression and life is a marked shift from the tone of earlier catalogues which only highlighted silence and obedience in manner, showing evolving ideas about feminine propriety.

Also during this period, Mother Gillespie worked on a project of Father Sorin's begun towards the end of the war, Notre Dame's new national magazine, the *Ave Maria Press*. Mother Angela spent a year and a half helping the magazine get off the ground, serving as the main editor. Some of the Sisters of the Holy Cross worked physically producing the magazine on the campus of Notre Dame, where a brother trained them as printers.²⁰ Even after her direct involvement waned, Mother Angela sought out several prominent lay Catholic women to contribute pieces for this periodical. In her correspondence with both male and female contributors, she offered encouragement, inquiries, and editorial feedback on their work.²¹ This magazine included and encouraged women's voices and active involvement in the Church and its doings. Mother Angela held room for women's issues and writings in these publications and surely would have wanted her students to grow into contributors to Catholic culture and writing.

The issues from the first year of publication included numerous articles both by women and about women's history in the Church.²² As a magazine dedicated to the reverence of the Virgin Mary, large sections of the first year of periodicals wrote about different aspects of the Catholic culture surrounding Mary as a venerated figure in the Catholic faith. The Bishop of Buffalo wrote the very first article in the very first issue of the magazine; in this piece he stated

²⁰ Anna Shannon McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness: Life and Letters of Mother Angela Gillespie, C.S.C., 1824-1887, American Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Cross*, Centenary Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 6, (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1944), 231. Mother Angela was ghost listed as a "Religious Assistant," rather than by name. The financial support for the start of the magazine included many of Gillespie's social connections as well as the sisters themselves.

²¹ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 222-242.

²² *Ave Maria*, Vol. 1, (1865) Periodical Room: Cushwa-Leighton Library, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, IN.

the importance of both men and women in Catholic history writing, “A woman and a man thus became associated in the history of the redemption [Mary and Jesus], as a woman and man were in that of the fall [Eve and Adam].”²³ The first year of the *Ave Maria* presented fully the Catholic emphasis on Mary, as well as the inclusion of female saints, providing context and precedents for female work, devotion, and voices, despite contradictions in the gendered hierarchy of the Church.

The second article of the issue stated that the editors published the magazine for Catholic families and included explicitly women in the history and importance of the Church saying, “Our chronicles contain a host of warriors, equally great, brave and good, all of whom...loved and honored the same sweet Mother that we do...for the daughters of the Blessed Mother the chronicles are equally as glorious.”²⁴ The Congregation of the Holy Cross acknowledged that the work of Catholic women, religious and lay, had a long and rich history. Particularly in the United States, women were vital to the growth and spread of Catholicism through lay motherhood and religious sisterhood.

This is not to argue for the perfect egalitarianism of Catholicism by any means, but the organizations of Catholic nuns in America represented very early female-held and -run spaces founded in America. These groups of women often pushed from within Catholicism for some women’s issues, eliciting sometimes strong responses from superiors. Kenneally explained, “Nuns were deposed, sacraments withheld, and in one instance at least, an interdict was imposed to subject communities of women to hierarchical jurisdiction.”²⁵ This was all while frequently

²³ *Ave Maria*, 1 no. 1, (1865) Periodical Room: Cushwa-Leighton Library, Saint Mary’s College, Notre Dame, IN, 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁵ Kenneally, “Reflections,” 414.

holding quite conservative stances and while performing acts of exclusion to other groups of women. Catholicism was never uniform, and while some Catholic women supported issues like women's suffrage and unionism, others argued for the importance of women to remain wives and mothers in the private sphere of their homes exerting influence through children and spouses.²⁶ Historical issues and influences distinct to the United States are present in historical Catholic publications particularly in language surrounding race, gender and politics; yet despite rhetorical and philosophical arguments, theologically and practically, the Church body included Catholic women and their widespread and far-reaching work.

Ornamental Subjects in The Post-War Years

Throughout the decade, the catalogues continued to stress the value of teaching the ornamental studies right alongside academic studies, but by the post-war years the previous, pacifying tone in balancing the liberal and ornamental studies shifted. Writers modified the ornamental section to underscore that the academy focused firstly on liberal studies. The catalogue stated that “the solid studies are regarded as the most important,” and although the institution obviously felt proud of its ornamental departments, it warned patrons that “the students are not allowed to sacrifice higher interests to proficiency in branches purely ornamental. Those who, from want of natural talent, make but little progress, are dissuaded from wasting time and means which might be used to better advantage.”²⁷ In other words, though the ornamental facilities, particularly music, were of the highest order, the ultimate goal of the school was to teach the “solid studies.” This statement showed the evolution of the goals of

²⁶ Kenneally, “Reflections,” 411-418.

²⁷ “Thirteenth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary’s Academy,” 5.

leaders over the decade. Though the later catalogues still declared the value of the ornamentals in “throw[ing] a charm over domestic life,” they also acknowledged that these subjects might not be innately useful to all female students and did not have to be included in a successful female academic career.

The discussion of the ornamental subjects in the later catalogues emphasized the improvements made in these departments. The authors continued to use the language of domesticity but used it alongside the subtle acknowledgement of alternative career paths and roles for women. The thirteenth catalogue stressed the rigor of the music education program at Saint Mary’s Academy by listing it alongside the science and art departments as having “accomplished and experienced teachers.” The school expanded its facilities during the Civil War years to include a music hall and 40 practice rooms.²⁸ It also mentioned that the department operated under the “European Conservatorium plan” stating: “particular attention is given to pupils who are preparing themselves to become organists.” This acknowledged practically that parishes needed trained organists and that women could fill this skilled position. The extensive use of music in Catholic worship offered a very real demand for musicians, both male and female. In an issue of the *Scholastic* from 1868, a student from Notre Dame vividly complemented the Easter worship music of the Saint Mary’s students saying, “rich harmonious tones elicited from the inanimate servant of religion, chimed beautifully with the sweet melodious voices of the singers as they sent up to the throne of Majesty this hymn of joyful praise to our triumphant God...the quality of voice employed by the singers admirably expressed

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

the sentiments which should accompany these different portions of the Mass.”²⁹ The religious and practical dimensions of Catholic music elevated the program beyond a private, refining feature of a finishing education for the students at Saint Mary’s.

Additionally, the music program employed both religious and lay women, offering students role models of serious female musicians. In the same *Chicago Tribune* article mentioned above, the author complemented the music department of the academy, stating: “Another of the superior branches is that of vocal and instrumental music, the first being under the direction of Miss Smythe, upon whom was bestowed the best musical education afforded in England, Switzerland and Germany...In the musical department were 185 pupils, many of whom gave evidence of their superior training.”³⁰ This complementary mention of a well-trained lay woman commanding a large department of serious pupils exemplified the career options that the ornamentals could offer women.

Visual arts also took on a more serious tone in the later expanded catalogues; leaders once again assured parents of the quality of instructors. This section informed patrons of a new School of Design, enticing guardians with the promise that “choice models in busts, chromos, and oil paintings in the different schools have been collected, and...full courses will be given by efficient teachers in all the various departments of Drawing and Painting.”³¹ This School of Design had long been a goal of Mother Angela’s; her biographer explained that Gillespie wanted the academy to be a bastion of serious religious art. In order to support this vision, Mother Angela levied her long friendship with the famous American artist, teacher and critic, Eliza Allen

²⁹ *Notre Dame Scholastic*, 1867 - 2011: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN, 1, no. 33 (April 18, 1868): 3, http://archives.nd.edu/Scholastic/VOL_0001/VOL_0001_ISSUE_0033.pdf

³⁰ “Educational: Closing Exercises at St. Mary’s Female Academy,” *Chicago Tribune* (1860-1872).

³¹ “Thirteenth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary’s Academy,” 5.

Starr.³² When Starr's famous Chicago studio and art school burned down in the Great Chicago Fire in 1871, Mother Angela convinced her to come teach art at Saint Mary's; she supported this appointment through a huge effort at building the art department through the collection of busts and rare books as educational tools.³³ A *Chicago Tribune* article elaborated:

Mother Angela notes in the full tide of success the establishment of a School of Design, which was very generally remarked by visitors as being an honor to the West. The instruction is given by a lady teacher who is not a member of the order which governs the school, and who is paid an exceedingly liberal salary.³⁴

This mention of a "lady teacher who is not a member of the order" may have been a reference to Starr, who would guest lecture frequently at Saint Mary's even before the destruction of her studio. Regardless of if it was Starr or another lay teacher, this hire provided another example of Mother Angela and the female networks of Catholic religious and lay women making career and educational opportunities available to women.

In addition to the ornamental studies, Mother Angela also continued to push for scholarly training for Catholic female educators. In 1870 she convinced two of her pupils nearing the end of their studies to pursue a two-year course of post-graduate studies. These two girls finished these studies at the end of 1872 and promptly joined the Sisters of the Holy Cross themselves.³⁵ Three years later Gillespie began a summer school for Sisters of the Holy Cross to attend and receive educational and pedagogical training. She also took steps in later years to

³² Starr was a Catholic convert who practiced art all over the United States. Her books found popularity among both religious and lay art critics, and she was the first woman to receive the Catholic Laetare Medal (McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 227-258).

³³ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 258-259.

³⁴ "Educational: Closing Exercises at St. Mary's Female Academy," *Chicago Tribune* (1860-1872).

³⁵ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 268-269.

establish a normal school for training Catholic teachers in Baltimore, Maryland.³⁶ These steps helped to secure Gillespie's goal of providing and expanding education for Catholic women and girls.

³⁶ McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, 119-120; 285-286.

Chapter 7

Case Study of Saint Mary's Academy: Conclusions

This analysis of the language of the Saint Mary's Academy catalogues across the Civil War decade from 1860 through 1871 offered a vivid case study of the balancing act female educational institutions in the nineteenth century faced. Leaders at Saint Mary's not only cultivated a rigorous academic atmosphere for their pupils, but also trained women with the skills and characteristics considered suitable for white, middle-class cultures. School leaders and pupils utilized gendered rhetoric and ideological frameworks to both defend and critique the growing field of women's education.

At Saint Mary's Academy in particular, the Catholic culture of the school provided strong female leaders who fought for girls' education. The presence of highly educated and competent nuns working to provide the best possible schooling for their female students, as well as to provide work opportunities to Catholic lay women, formed a vast network of women dedicated to creating educational, leadership, creative and economic spaces for future generations of girls. This single-sex organization dedicated itself to the education of its pupils while working within the middle-class gendered culture of the time to build an institution to which parents and guardians felt comfortable sending their daughters. Catholic female educators considered the distinctive needs of their pupils, wanting to prepare girls for several possible futures, creating

pools from which came educated nuns, teachers, writers, artists, activists, nurses, historians, wives, and mothers. The leaders of the academy provided their students with a rigorous curriculum taught by skilled teachers on par with the education received by students' brothers, cousins and fathers who attended Notre Dame, while elevating the level of those subjects often dismissed by reformers and activists as frivolous, providing the cultural, social, religious, and economic advantage of an ornamental education, and practical training for running households.

The catalogues put out by the academy spoke in culturally acceptable language to appeal to middle-class values and assuage middle-class fears surrounding female education. While the catalogues could only display the public face of the academy, they are an exceptional example of how girls' institutions utilized popular gendered language to both expand and reinforce gendered norms in nineteenth-century America. As the upheaval and uncertainty of the Civil War and Reconstruction years gave way to the constantly changing world of the Gilded Age, the language of spheres and domesticity reassured parents and guardians that academy-educated students would still be able to fulfill cultural norms; however, this language also began to stretch to accommodate newly expanded roles for women.

In *Catholic Women's Colleges in America* Kathleen A. Mahoney stated that the rise of Catholic women's colleges stemmed from Catholic debates concerning two main issues: firstly, the tension between retaining a Catholic identity or assimilating to American culture¹, and, secondly, ideas surrounding changing gender ideologies.² She argued that Catholic communities

¹ Kathleen A. Mahoney, "American Catholic Colleges for Women Historical Origins" in *Catholic Women's Colleges in America*, eds. Tracy Schier and Cynthia Eagle Russett, 25-54, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 27.

² Ideas being debated among white, middle-class Americans about womanhood centered on differences between "true womanhood" and "new womanhood." See Mahoney, "American Catholic Colleges," 27.

largely settled these debates due to a triumvirate of factors: need, consensus, and legacy. By the turn of the twentieth century, many middle- and working-class women needed a college education to be competitive in women's jobs—this need for education squashed most concerns about its threats to Catholic womanhood. Liberal and conservative Catholics thus reached minimal consensus on the education of Catholic women creating approval for institutions. Finally, generations of educated nuns and their academy-educated pupils cemented the expectation that this legacy of female education would need to be supported and continued, creating the need for new Catholic, female schools.³

This case study of Saint Mary's Academy illustrated Mahoney's theories about those debates, which ultimately ended with the triumph of Catholic women's colleges. All were present in the legacy of Saint Mary's Academy. Educated nuns provided education and role models for their students. The women who received schooling at Saint Mary's Academy in turn paved the way for succeeding generations of girls to find ever-expanding educational and work opportunities. The next exceptional leader of Saint Mary's Academy after Mother Angela, Mother Pauline O'Neill, became director of Saint Mary's Academy in 1895.⁴ She attended Saint Mary's Academy for five years as a student, and she later became a sister, entering the Congregation of the Holy Cross in 1879. As director, Mother Pauline designed a program to offer degrees from the school, a right Indiana granted the sisters 1855, but had not yet used.⁵ In

³ Ibid., 27-28.

⁴ Helen Creek, *A Panorama: 1844-1977, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1977), 46. Before entering the sisterhood, Mother Pauline's name was Bridget O'Neill.

⁵ Ibid., 28.

1898 Saint Mary's awarded its first degree.⁶ After a series of meetings and reviews to amend the school charter and finish accreditation, the academy officially became Saint Mary's College in 1903 with Mother Pauline as its first president.⁷

This case study looked in a limited way into the world of the Catholic women's academies that built the foundation for many twentieth-century Catholic women's colleges. More work is needed to fully understand the impact of these precursor schools and the role they played in forming ideologies of nineteenth-century Catholic womanhood. The work of nuns in shaping American Catholic educational institutions, alongside social and healthcare institutions, deserves a place in American women's history.

While historians are making efforts at expanding this subfield of women's education, researchers need to do much more work to give a fuller picture of Catholic women's work, learning, and culture, especially in the nineteenth century. Historians are writing more on Catholic women's colleges, with brief prefaces or chapters on Catholic academies as context; however, work must be done on the academies themselves. There is a need for further research on these schools and how they promoted a Catholic, gendered culture within female-dominated and -led spaces. These forerunners of Catholic women's colleges raise several questions. What constituted Catholic womanhood in these spaces? How did diverse groups help create, maintain, and push back against these gendered institutions? How did factors of ethnicity, race, social class, and region affect these schools and ideas? How do transatlantic factors weigh into the types of educational institutions founded? How did the Civil War impact Catholic educational

⁶ *Ibid.*, 46-51. This student was Mother Angela's grandniece.

⁷ Monica Wagner, *Benchmarks: Saint Mary's College, How It Grew* (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1990), 51.

experience in the United States? How did immigration patterns affect the character of ethnic schools? Comparative studies and case studies of various orders, ethnicities and regions would help to better analyze power dynamics, culture, and the creation of an American Catholicism, which in turn, would help present a fuller picture of American women's educational history.

Appendix A
A Note on the Catalogues

This appendix addresses some quirks in the catalogues numbering. It was very difficult to assign exact years to the catalogues of the 1860s. The academy issued its first catalogue in 1848; the catalogues were numbered from the first. This paper began with the fifth catalogue and ended with the sixteenth catalogue. The catalogues were compiled and bound into books, with the individual catalogues numbered by issue and by academic year. The starting catalogue for this paper was titled “Fifth Annual Catalogue of St. Mary’s Academy Notre Dame, Indiana.” The cover of this issue has the year listed as “1860-61,” so presumably this was the catalogue being issued for the coming 1860-1861 school year. This became a bit muddled, however, as the issue also had on the cover, “Annual Commencement, 1860-1861. Tuesday, June 26th. 1860.” This dating suggested that this was being issued for the 1860-61 school year, but also contained information about the previous spring’s commencement (i.e., 1860).

These assumptions became more complicated during the decade, however, for a few reasons. The sixth catalogue was missing some key indicators, including the commencement information for the year. The seventh and eighth catalogues listed commencement dates (Thursday, June 26, 1862, and Thursday June 25, 1863), but had no academic years listed. The publishing years for these two catalogues were the same as the commencement years, which suggests that they, too, were issued as the informational catalogue for the following academic years but contained the previous spring’s commencement information listed (i.e., the school issued the seventh catalogue for the 1862-63 school year, and the eighth for the 1863-64 school year).

The ninth catalogue (presumably for circulation during the 1864-1865 school year) was completely missing from archival records. The tenth catalogue again only listed the commencement date (June 22, 1865) and the publishing date of 1865 with no school year. Based

on the numbering system of the previous years, the tenth catalogue was for the 1865-1866 academic year. In the eleventh issue, the line “For the Academic Year 1866-67” appeared with the commencement of the previous year being listed as June 27, 1866; the twelfth continued this numbering system (Academic Year 1867-1868, Commencement June 26, 1867, printing year 1867).

The Thirteenth Catalogue was where the numbering system seemed to change. This catalogue was markedly different in length and contained expanded commentary and information on the school. The academic year in this catalogue was once again listed at 1867-1868 (the same year listed for the twelfth catalogue), though the commencement year was listed 1868 and the publishing date was listed as 1868. This new numbering system continued for the rest of the decade with the previous academic year listed as the catalogue year, though the commencement and publishing date, as well as the previous catalogues, indicated this was the pricing and information for the following academic year.

Despite this understanding of the numbering system, this paper included the sixteenth annual catalogue, listed as the 1870-1871 academic year, with the commencement and publishing year listed as 1871. This seems to indicate that the sixteenth catalogue was the catalogue that interested patrons viewed for information about the 1871-1872 school year, with the previous spring’s commencement program included.

Due to the numbering discrepancies, the analysis for this paper operated under the blanket assumption that the academy issued catalogues and that patrons read those catalogues in the summer and fall of the *printing year* and the spring of the following year (i.e., the “school year”). For example, a parent looking to send their daughter to Saint Mary’s Academy for the 1865-1866 school year, would have requested a catalogue and would have been sent the Tenth

Catalogue with commencement information from the spring of 1865. Again, for clarity, this paper referred to catalogues by number, rather than year. The table below should help clarify to readers this understanding of the numbering system.

Table A.1: Saint Mary's Academy Catalogue Numbering and Corresponding Years

Catalogue Number	Academic Year Listed	Commencement Date Listed	Publishing Year Listed	Presumed Dates of Circulation (Summer to Spring)
5th	1860-1861	June 26, 1860	1860	1860-1861
6th		<i>Title Page Missing</i>		1861-1862
7th	Not Listed	June 26, 1862	1862	1862-1863
8th	Not Listed	June 25, 1863	1863	1863-1864
9th		<i>Catalogue Missing</i>		1864-1865
10th	Not Listed	June 22, 1865	1865	1865-1866
11th	1866-1867	June 27, 1866	1866	1866-1867
12th	1867-1868	June 26, 1867	1867	1867-1868
13th	1867-1868	June 24, 1868	1868	1868-1869
14th	1868-1869	June 24, 1869	1869	1869-1870
15th	1869-1870	June 23, 1870	1870	1870-1871
16th	1870-1871	June 22, 1871	1871	1871-1872

Source: Information gathered from *Catalogues of St. Mary's Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880: Saint Mary's College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary's College Archive. Notre Dame, IN.*

Appendix B
Other Tables

Table B.1: Titles of Selected Textbooks Written by Mother Angela Gillespie

Gillespie, Angela. *The Metropolitan First Reader. Carefully Arranged, in Prose and Verse, for the Use of Schools*. New York; Montreal: D. & J. Sadlier & Co, 1873.

Order of the Holy Cross. *The Metropolitan Second Reader: Carefully Arranged in Prose and Verse, for the Use of Schools*. Montreal: James A. Sadlier, 1887.

Gillespie, Angela. *The Metropolitan Third Reader: Carefully Arranged in Prose and Verse, for the Use of Schools*. New York; Boston; Montreal: D. & J. Sadlier, 1866

Gillespie, Angela. *The Metropolitan Fourth Reader: Carefully Arranged, in Prose and Verse, for the Use of Schools*. Montreal: J.A. Sadlier, 1881.

Gillespie, Angela. *The Metropolitan Fourth Reader: Compiled for the Use of Colleges, Academies and the Higher Classes of Select and Parish Schools*. New York; Boston; Montreal: D. & J. Sadleir, 1861.

Gillespie, Angela. *The metropolitan fourth reader: compiled for the use of colleges, academies, and the higher classes of select and parish schools; arranged expressly for the Catholic schools in Canada*. Montreal: D. & J. Sadlier, 1866.

Gillespie, Angela. *The Metropolitan Fifth Reader: Compiled for the Use of Colleges, Academies and the Higher Classes of Select and Parish Schools, Arranged Expressly for the Catholic Schools in Canada*. Montreal: J.A. Sadlier, 1891.

Gillespie, Angela. *The Book of Oratory. Metropolitan sixth reader*. New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1885.

Order of the Holy Cross. *The Metropolitan Illustrated Speller: Carefully Arranged; Designed to Accompany the Metropolitan Series of Readers*. Montreal: D & J Sadlier, 1874.

Gillespie, Angela. *The Book of Oratory: Compiled for the Use of Colleges, Academies, and the Higher Classes of Select and Parish Schools. Metropolitan Sixth Reader*. New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1871.

Source: Titles compiled from *WorldCat.org*

Table B.2: Selection of Course Offerings and/or Premiums Granted from Notre Dame and Saint Mary's from the Respective Catalogues of the Institutions, 1860-1865

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Saint Mary's Academy</i>	<i>Notre Dame du Lac</i>
English	Polite Literature/Reading Rhetoric Composition Grammar Orthography Elocution Penmanship Letter Writing	Reading Rhetoric Composition Grammar Orthography Elocution Penmanship Letter Writing Recitation Public Reading
Mathematics	Algebra Geometry Book-Keeping Arithmetic	Algebra Geometry Book-Keeping Arithmetic Surveying Trigonometry Conic Sections
Sciences	Chemistry Botany Astronomy Natural Science	Metaphysics Chemistry
Social Studies	History Natural Philosophy Christian Doctrine Geography Philosophy	History Natural Philosophy Christian Doctrine Geography Christian Archaeology
Languages	French German Italian Latin	French German Italian Latin (Including Classics) Greek (Including Classics) Spanish
Music	Vocal Choir and Individual Piano Guitar Harp Thorough Bass	Piano Instrumental Music Piano Violin Flute Sax Brass
Arts	Painting (Watercolor and Oils) Drawing Artificial Flowers Embroidery Plain Needle Work	Drawing
Other	Dancing and Calisthenics	Calisthenics

Sources: Information gathered from: *Catalogues of St. Mary's Academy; Notre Dame, Indiana 1860-1880*; Saint Mary's College Catalogue Collection, Saint Mary's College Archive. Notre Dame, IN; *Notre Dame Annual Catalogues or Bulletins, 1850-1914*; Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN.
<http://archives.nd.edu/bulletin/>.

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Fr. Edward Sorin to Father General Moreau, December 5, 1842, The Circular Letters of Father Sorin, CSC, 1845-1893, Father Superior's Letters of 1842, Letters as Superior at Notre Dame and Provincial, 261, University of Notre Dame Archives, <http://archives.nd.edu/circulars/CLP2-1842.pdf>.

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Guide to Notre Dame and Saint Mary's, 1865: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN. <http://archives.nd.edu/episodes/guide/>.

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Notre Dame Commencement Programs, 1845-2018: Notre Dame Digital Archives, Notre Dame, IN. <http://archives.nd.edu/Commencement/>.

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